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ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY

OF

WESTERN INDIA.

VOL. V.




The Ballantyne Press
Ballantyne & Hanson
Edinburgh London

REPORT

ON THE

ELURA CAVE TEMPLES

AND

THE BRAHMANICAL AND JAINA CAVES IN WESTERN INDIA

COMPLETING

THE RESULTS OF THE FIFTH, SIXTH, AND SEVENTH SEASONS' OPERATIONS OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY

1877-78, 1878-79, 1879-80.

SUPPLEMENTARY TO THE VOLUME ON "THE CAVE TEMPLES OF INDIA."

BY

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ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEYOR AND REPORTER TO GOVERNMENT

FOR WESTERN AND SOUTHERN INDIA.

LONDON:

TRÜBNER & CO., LUDGATE HILL.

1883.



PREFACE.

As the object of the present volume is sufficiently explained in the introductory chapter, very little need be added by way of preface to it. Like the preceding one, it is intended as a supplement to the volume on *The Cave Temples of India*, which was intended as a general *resumé* of the whole subject, but required for its completion special descriptions, such as those contained in this work on the Elura Caves, and on the Brahmanical and Jaina Caves elsewhere in Western India. These three volumes thus complete the description and illustration of the Cave Temples in Western India, so far as the Archæological Survey of the Bombay Presidency is at present concerned; and though they are far from exhausting the subject, they may be considered as giving a fair presentation of it. The illustrations of the art and mythology which these works contain, it is believed, will be found interesting and instructive by a numerous and varied class of cultivated and scientific readers.

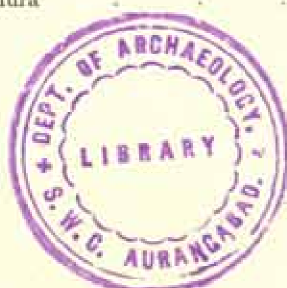
The inscriptions from Kanheri Caves contained in this volume belong rather to the preceding one; but the first arrangements made for their translation having failed, they were delayed, and finally undertaken by Dr. G. Bühler, C.I.E., of Vienna, whose able versions will be valued by scholars. To him and to Mr. James Fergusson, D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., whose valuable help and suggestions have been most readily afforded me, I owe my most hearty thanks.

Materials have been partly collected for a full description of the Mediæval Temples of the Canarese Districts of the Bombay Presidency, especially those at Gadag, Lakshmêśvar, Lakkundi, Dambal, &c., which it is intended shall form the next volume of these reports; and that will probably be followed by another on the Architectural Remains in Gujarât and other districts in the northern parts of the Presidency.

JAS. BURGESS.

Edinburgh, 14*th Oct.* 1882.

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KAILÂSA TEMPLE AT ELURÂ FROM THE NORTH WEST.


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REPORT

OF THE

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF WESTERN INDIA.

THE ELURA CAVES

AND

OTHER BRAHMANICAL AND JAINA CAVE TEMPLES.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY: THE ELURÂ CAVES.

IN the preceding volume the description of the more notable groups of Buddhist Rock Temples, as given in the work on *The Cave Temples of India*, was considerably amplified by additional details and numerous illustrations, which will enable the architect and student to form a tolerably accurate idea of the style and character of the plans and ornamentation, as well as of the sculptures of these ancient and interesting works. And in addition to these, the facsimiles and translations of the inscriptions will afford fresh materials of a trustworthy character for the epigraphist and philologist, with a certain amount of important information of historical importance. But even that volume by no means exhausts the illustrations that might have been given, especially from Ajaṇṭâ, of the artistic decorative work on columns, doors, windows, and friezes, or of the extensive mythological sculptures found in such rich abundance there and at Kaṇheri.

The intention of the present volume is to apply the same process to the illustration of the remaining Rock Temples of Western India. The principal of these are—the whole of the well-known and magnificent group at Elurâ, consisting of splendid representatives of the three classes—Bauddha, Brahmanical, and Jaina Cave Temples; the Brahmanical and Jaina Caves at Bâdâmi, at Aihoḷe, at Ankâi Tankâi, and at Pâtna; and the Brahmanical Caves, chiefly at Jôgêśwari on Salsette Island, at Lonaḍ, and at Hariśchandragaḍ. To give anything like a complete illustration of these Cave Temples, or even of those at Elurâ alone, however, would occupy double the number of plates that can be given in this volume; but with those in *The Cave Temples*, as here supplemented, the reader may form some adequate conception of the characteristics of the different groups, and of the variety of architectural and mythological sculpture that is presented in these early monuments of the religious

faiths of India. "All commentary," remarks M. Baudrillart,[1] "grows pale before the magnificent ruins of the temples of Elurâ, which, more than any other ruins, confuse the human imagination. At the sight of these astounding edifices . . . the development of the plastic arts and of public religious luxury amongst the Hindus receives the most striking attestation in the magnificence of these temples, in the infinite diversity of their details, and the minute variety of the carvings."

In this volume it seems preferable to treat the Elurâ Caves as a whole, and to illustrate the temples found there—Buddhist, Brahmanical, and Jaina—as a series complete in itself. In *The Cave Temples*, three separate chapters were devoted to the three sections of this group,[2] illustrated by about thirty-one plates, and to each section was assigned its relative place among the other excavations of the same character. In the supplementary information to be now given such a distribution is no longer required, as it is only proposed to amplify the illustration of the Elurâ Caves, as given in the former work, in their topographical order from south to north—which, as it happens, is also that of their religious character, and pretty nearly of their relative ages. This is the arrangement adopted by Dr. James Fergusson in his *Rock-Cut Temples of India*, who was the first to point out the religious characteristics of the different groups, which this mode of describing them brought to light.

It is only thus by treating of the Elurâ group as a whole that an adequate idea can be obtained of this series of cave temples, which is probably the most magnificent and most interesting in India. The only other group that can rival it in interest is that at Ajaṇṭâ. There, however, the caves all belong to one religion, and beginning at a very much earlier period than anything found at Elurâ, carry on the history of the Buddhist religion and architecture for nearly 1000 years; and though the series at Elurâ commenced nearly at the time when the excavations at Ajaṇṭâ ceased, an immense additional interest was added there by the introduction of temples of a novel form belonging to the Hindu religion, and subsequently by others of the Jaina faith, affording a varied picture of the mythology of India during the period of its greatest vigour, such as is nowhere else to be found. Moreover, besides the interest attaching to the individual members of the group, which in themselves are probably equal to any found elsewhere, the whole culminates worthily in the Kailâsa, which is certainly the most magnificent rock-cut temple in India, and by itself is sufficient to give a dignity and importance to this group beyond any other series of rock-cut temples which India possesses.

At Ajaṇṭâ one feels that there is a homogeneity in the mythology represented in the painting and sculpture throughout the whole range of the caves; they are all manifestly the work of one sect as it developed its art and its mythology. At Kaṇheri, also, we have the same thing; but while at Ajaṇṭâ the art rapidly develops in richness, at Kaṇheri the architecture is, from the earliest to the latest example, exceedingly plain and unadorned; by the style or order of the pillars and the arrangements of the caves, however, we readily see that they are spread over a long period of time, and the mythological figures mark the progress of the school of the Greater Vehicle, but there is no such marked advance in decorative sculpture as we find at Ajaṇṭâ. The two groups differ in the same manner as

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[1] *Histoire du Luxe, Privé et Public, depuis l'Antiquité jusq'à nos Jours.*

[2] See *Cave Temples*, Bk. II., chap. iv, pp. 367–384, and plates lvii to lxv for the Bauddha Caves; Bk. III., chap. v, pp. 431–463, and plates lxx to lxxxiv for the Brahmanical Caves; and Bk. IV., chap. iii, pp. 495–502, and plates lxxxvi to xcii for the Jaina Caves.

the quarter of a royal city containing the palaces of the king and his nobles does from the suburbs of the working-classes.

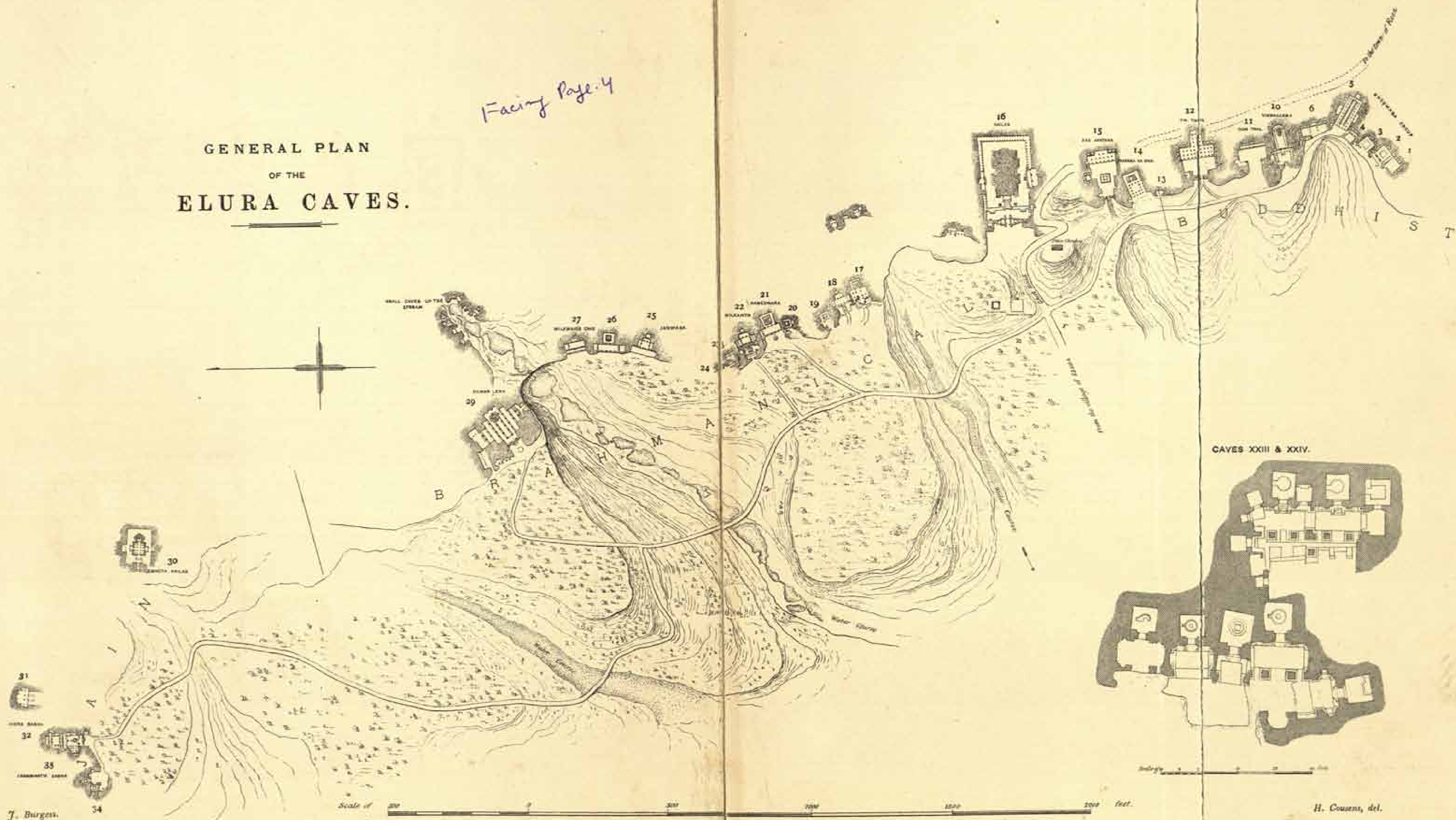
The Elurâ Buddhist Caves on the other hand differ in many respects from both these groups; they are on quite as large a scale as any at Ajaṇṭâ, but differ in their arrangements, and though they contain abundance of sculpture, it varies markedly both in its subjects and in details from that at Ajaṇṭâ, while the ornamentation is much less elaborate. They differ also from the Kaṇheri group in their vastly larger dimensions, their plans, and in the greater amount both of sculptured ornamentation and mythology, but especially in the character of the latter. Thus, while the dâgoba is a frequent object of representation in the bas-reliefs at Kaṇheri, it only occurs once or twice at Elurâ, and then in very small examples, and in positions by no means prominent. Nâga-hooded figures, so often represented both in the sculptures and paintings at Ajaṇṭâ, as well as at Amarâvati, Bôrô Bûdûr, Sânchî, and Bharhut, are not found here; and while both at Kaṇheri and Ajaṇṭâ the Buddha is represented without any supporters or only with two, at Elurâ he is most frequently attended by six, eight, or ten of the Bodhisattvas, whilst *śaktis* or *dêvis*—later additions to the Bauddha pantheon—figure much more frequently and prominently on the walls of these caves than they do at either of the two groups just named. When we compare them again with the sculptures on the *stûpas* at Sânchi, Bharhut, Amarâvati, and Bôrô Bûdûr,[1] we note still further differences, and are led to consider whether these variations may not be very largely due to the difference of sects or schools into which the Buddhists were very early divided, and whether each of the greater schools—which were probably to a large extent practically local—may not have developed much that was special to itself in its mythology or the modes of representing the beings in the pantheon. This would help to account for differences in the characteristics of the sculptures at Amarâvatî, Kaṇheri, Elurâ, Ajaṇṭâ, and Sânchî. True, much of this variety is due to differences of age; and the lack of sculpture in the Junnar, Nâsik, and other caves, is doubtless to some extent owing to their early age; but the recent discovery of an inscription of Vasishṭhîputra Puḷumâvi at Amarâvatî, shows that the difference between the sculptures there and at Nâsik and Kârlê, where other inscriptions of the same king are found, is due to other causes, such as we have just indicated, quite as much as to difference of age. Moreover, we learn from I-tsing, a writer of the end of the seventh century, that the Sarvâstivâdin schools were less honoured in the Marâṭha country than in Magadha, but that the Sammatiyas were particularly respected. In the south the Mahâsthavira school was universally honoured; and in Eastern India each of the four schools (Mahâsaṁghika, Âryasthavira, Sarvâstivâdin, and Sammatiya) had its adherents in different districts.[2] It seems, moreover, to be more than a mere surmise that the varieties in sculptures are largely owing to the various schools that constructed different stûpas or excavated special groups of caves, for, on comparing the sculptures in these Elurâ Caves with the mythology of the Yogâchârya school of the Mahâyâna, founded by Âryâsaṅga,[3] we find the agreement so marked that we may conclude they were the works

[1] See the magnificent illustrations of Bôrô Bûdûr, published by order of H. E. the Minister of the Dutch Colonies (Leide, 1874).

[2] Beal's *Buddhist Literature in China*, p. 65. The Sammatiyas were followers of the Hînayâna, and were split into three schools. Most of the early schools were, however, afterwards more or less influenced by the doctrines of Nâgârjuna and Asaṅga.

[3] He is said by Târânâtha to have lived 900 years after Buddha, and by others 100 years after Nâgârjuna: perhaps early in the fourth century, Vassilief, *Bouddh.*, pp. 31, 52, 65; St. Julien's *Mém. des Cont. Occid.*, tome i, pp. 105, 269.

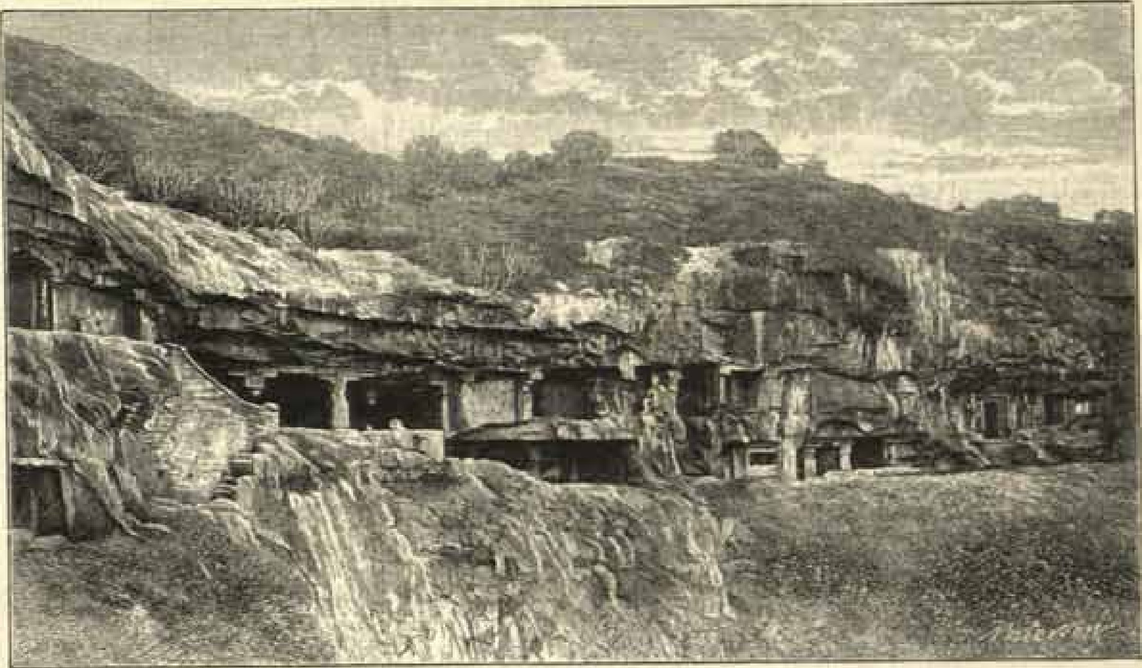



Facing Page 4
GENERAL PLAN
OF THE
ELURA CAVES.
SMALL CAVES UP THE STREAM
DUMAR LENA
29
27
26
25
JANWASA
24
22
NILKANTH
21
RAMESWARA
20
19
18
17
16
KAILAS
15
DAS AVATARA
14
13
12
TIN THAL
11
DON THAL
10
VISVAKARMA
6
5
4
3
2
1
B U D D H I S T
B R A H M A N I C A L
J A I N
30
31
32
33
34
Water Course
CAVES XXIII & XXIV.
Scale of 500 0 500 1000 1500 2000 feet.
J. Burgess.
H. Cousens, del.

hârwâḍâ—are on a considerably larger scale and more magnificent in their arrangements, but they seem to have been pushed in at a higher level than the adjoining Caves I., III., and VII., and were probably contemporary with the great Chaitya Cave—the Viśvakarma—which with two or three others was probably excavated during the seventh century A.D. Nos. VIII., IX., and XI. were probably even later than this, and may be considered as marking the expiring efforts of the Buddhists in Western India.

Caves Nos. I.-VI.

The first six caves have been described in some detail in *The Cave Temples* (pp. 368-375, and plates lvii to lxi). The accompanying woodcut (No. 1) presents a view of Caves



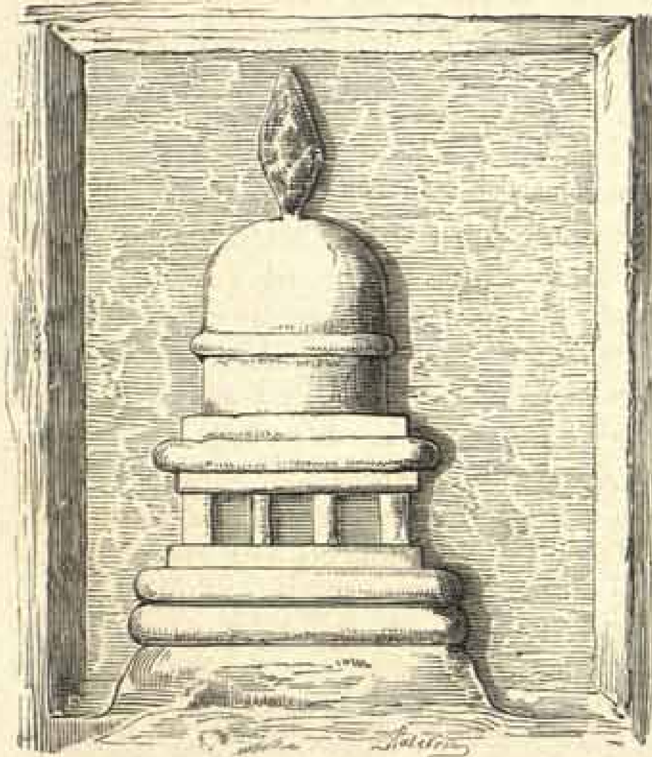
No. 1.—The Southern Bauddha Caves at Elurâ, from a photograph.

Nos. II. to V. Cave I. is hidden by the mass of debris in front of it, but it is just under the right side of Cave II., of which the door and large window to the right of it are seen near the right-hand side of the view. Cave III. is at a lower level to the left. Cave V., with the fragments of a large chapel belonging to it on the south side (of which the whole west half has fallen away), extends from over the left side of Cave III. to behind a parapet wall recently erected to afford a safe passage along the face of the scarp. The interior of Cave IV., which is very much ruined, is seen under the chapel of Cave V.

Sculptured in a large panel on the inside of the front wall of Cave No. II. is the figure represented in fig. 1 of plate xiii, where we have either Pândarâ the mother of Padmapâṇi or some other of the Târâs. Both her two attendants have flowers in their hands; and here, though somewhat abraded by time, are six *Vidyâdharas* or cherubs over the head of the goddess. In her right hand she probably held up a *mâlâ* or rosary, but it is now obliterated. Behind the head is the aureole or *bhâmaṇḍala*, which indicates that she is a celestial personage; and in her ears are large earrings of different forms. On the front of the *mukuṭa* or headdress is a dâgaba, which must be taken as her *chinha* or cognisance; and as it is also associated with Akshôbhya, the second Jñâni Buddha, we may

perhaps identify her with Lôchanî: in later mythology, however, Lôchanî has also an upright *vajra* on the lotuses which she holds in each hand.

In the back of this cave, No. II., is one of the few examples of a dâgaba among the sculptures at Elurâ. It is a small bas-relief on the wall by itself, without any worshippers or other accessories, and is represented in the accompanying woodcut (No. 2). The style of it is plain, but the type is not an early one.



No. 2.—Dâgaba on the Wall of Cave II.

In Cave IV., the hall of which is almost entirely ruined, in the left end of the aisle or antechamber that crosses in front of the shrine and two cells that are in the back wall, is a sculpture,[1] represented in fig. 2, pl. xvi, where we have Padmapâṇi or Avalôkitêśvara seated with his feet on the lotus. He has his proper cognizances, having a small deerskin over his left shoulder, holding the rosary or *mâlâ* in his right hand, and attended as usual by two female dêvis—one with a bottle and rosary, and the other with only a flower. Above, on each side, is a figure of Buddha, the one standing and the other seated cross-legged in the *abhaya mudrâ* or attitude of blessing.

At the entrance to Cave V., on the right side, is the pilaster represented on plate xiii, fig. 3, in which the amount and character of the carving remind us of the richly sculptured pilasters so frequent at Ajaṇṭâ.

The antechamber to the shrine of Cave VI. is richly sculptured. The back wall and shrine door were represented in *Cave Temples*, plate lxi; and to this is now added the sculptured compartments on the end walls of the same room. The principal figure in the left end seems to be Pâṇḍarâ or Padmanî (plate xiii, fig. 2), the *śakti* of Amitâbha and mother of Padmapâṇi,[2] who acts the part of a dwârapâla on the left side of the shrine door. She has a lotus stalk in her left hand, and wears a high *jaṭâ* headdress; her locks descend over her shoulders, and a small deerskin lies over the left one, as is often the case in figures of Padmapâṇi. She is attended by Vidyâdharas on clouds, and by a small female figure on each side. The headdresses of these small figures, and of most others in these caves, is a sufficient index of their late age. Over the panel is a *toraṇa*, dipping in the centre, and with *makaras*[3] at each end of it, over the capitals of small pilasters.

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[1] *Cave Temples*, p. 372, and plate lvii.

[2] It should be noticed that while much of the sculpture at Bôrô-Bûdûr bears a close analogy to that of Amarâvatî and to the sculpture and paintings of Ajaṇṭâ, the Bodhisattvas and Buddhiśaktis are entirely absent at the two former places, and even at Ajaṇṭâ we find only the two leading Bodhisattvas represented. Hence the futility of Dr. Leeman's attempt to distinguish the Jñâni Buddhas.—*Bôrô-Boudour*, pp. 446–471.

[3] The *makara* is a fabulous animal, described as having an elephant's trunk, a snake's tongue, and a crocodile's teeth.

On the right-hand wall of this antechamber, facing the figure above described (pl. xiii, fig. 2), and close to the dwârapala, on the right side of the door, supposed to represent Mañjuśrî, is the sculpture given on plate xvi, fig. 3. The right hand of the central female figure is broken, but the attendant peacock and the paṇḍit reading at her right, seem sufficient to point her out as Sarasvatî,[1] who with the Hindus is the goddess of learning and eloquence, and with the Buddhists is one of the wives of Mañjuśrî, and is perhaps the same as Lôchanî.

On the right side of the shrine is a panel containing three figures (plate xiii, fig. 4) on lotus seats. The left one may easily be identified as Avalôkitêśvara or Padmapâṇi, with the lotus and rosary, and the deerskin over his shoulder; also a small figure of Amitâbha Buddha on the front of his headdress. Whom the other two figures respectively represent is not so clear; the central one is very fat and holds what resembles a small book in his left hand, and some round object in his right, while his headdress is unlike any other. He has rich armlets, heavy earrings, a necklace and *jânvi* or sacred thread, as a Brahman. The third figure holds a small flower in his right hand, wears a high dress with a dâgaba on the front of it, a necklace, long ear-pendants, armlets, bracelets, and a thick cord worn as the *jânvi*. Probably this is Mañjuśrî. All three have aureoles behind their heads. On the left side wall of the same room is a similar compartment, which contains first, to the right, a male figure with rich headdress, earrings, necklace, and *jânvi* on bended knees, and attended by a female *chauri*-bearer presenting an offering. Behind him is a female figure, probably his wife, also with rich turban[2] and enormous earrings, on her knees and with her hands in the attitude of adoration. She is attended by a female dwarf, who bears a box or tray with presents, and over her head is a bird apparently placed as a sort of cognisance. Behind the female, again, bends on one knee a male figure with necklace and Brahmanical cord, holding something like a long bag or purse. Close to him is an elephant's head and fore-foot, with a small figure representing the driver leaning over its brow. This must be intended to represent some wealthy family making an offering to the cave or its priests: it may be a prince with his wife and Diwân.

On each wall, above these panels, are three rows of three Buddhas each—all in the *dharmachakra mudrâ*,[3] as is also the great central figure.[4]

Caves VII. and VIII.

Plate xiv, fig. 1, gives the plans of Caves VII. and VIII., on the same scale as the Caves on plate lvii of *The Cave Temples*, of which they form the continuation on the north side, but are not marked on the general plan of the caves (plate ii) in consequence of their being under Nos. VI. and IX. Cave VII. is a vihâra, just under No. VI., which has never been finished, and is now much ruined. It is 51½ feet wide by 43½ feet deep. The roof was supported by four square pillars, but three of them are broken away. In the back wall five cells are commenced, of which only two at the right end are finished. There are also three

[1] She is a favourite with the Buddhists everywhere; in Japan she is called Benten, and in Tibet, *Dvangs-chan-ma*.—*Asiat. Res.*, vol. xx, pp. 515, 535.

[2] Observe the jewelled crescent on the left side of each turban.

[3] This *mudrâ*, so prevalent everywhere in India, is either not represented at all at Bôrô-Bûdûr, or depicted in a somewhat different form.—*Bôrô-Boedoer*, plate viii. The other *mudrâs* also differ slightly, *e.g.*, in the *Bhumisparśa*, the right hand does not come so far over the knee as in Indian images.

[4] See *Cave Temples*, plate lxi.



unfinished cells in the right end wall, and four in the left. The thresholds of the doors to these are unusually high—the first step, even in the two that are finished, being 18 to 20 inches high. Through the back wall of the first cell, in the left side, an opening has been broken into Cave No. VIII. The front wall is quite unfinished, the door in the middle only having been hewn out, and the rock being left of considerable thickness on the north side of it, through which another entrance has been made at the left corner, with a descent of two or three steps in front and a wide passage on the inner side. At the right, or south-west corner, an entrance is also broken into the hall from the foot of the stair, which there ascends to Cave VI.

The arrangements of Cave No. VIII., as described in *The Cave Temples* (p. 376), will be better understood by the plan (pl. xiv), which at once shows its resemblance to the Brahmanical Caves, such as the Râvaṇa-kâ Khâi and Râmêśvara, and also to the Aurangâbâd Bauddha Caves,—a pretty clear indication of its late date. The two pillars in front of the shrine being of the Elephanta type, as in Cave II., is a further proof that it is one of the latest Buddhist excavations here. The other two pillars, dividing it from the outer apartment, have high square bases; the shafts have 32 flutes, and the capitals are square, with pendent ears at the corners, carved with scroll-leaf pattern. The slender columns in front of the little chapel on the north side of this room are also of the Elephanta type.

Cave IX.

This cave, if not an appendage of Cave VI., or, rather to a small cave in front of its north wing, now destroyed by the falling away of the rock (see plan, *Cave Temples*, pl. lx), is quite different from any we elsewhere meet with. It forms a sort of upper storey to the last, but consists of a mere chapel with two pillars in front,[1] and is quite in the same style, both of architecture and sculpture, as Cave VIII. Over the front pillars is a sculptured façade, the architrave or lower member being divided into compartments by divisions carved with arabesques, the compartments alternately containing a sitting and a standing Buddha, with attendants. On the frieze above are carved three Chaitya window ornaments, and at a higher level other two—each row with half ones at the ends; and in a third and shorter belt is a single one. Each of these is occupied by a figure of Buddha, and between the projecting members on which they are carved are many smaller human figures. Above, at each corner, is a Bodhisattva with female attendants.[2] One of the pillars is represented in plate xvi, fig. 4.

Inside, the chapel is about 23 feet by 10 feet, with two attached pillars on the back wall, dividing it into three compartments. The centre one contains a Buddha with four *gandharvas* above, and the side ones contain the two attendant Bodhisattvas; the right side one—probably Mañjuśrî—is represented on pl. xiii, fig. 6. The other is Avalôkiteśvara, also with two female attendants, and fat *gandharvas* above.

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[1] See *Cave Temples*, p. 375.

[2] Compare this with the similar façade of the left wing of the Indra Sabhâ.

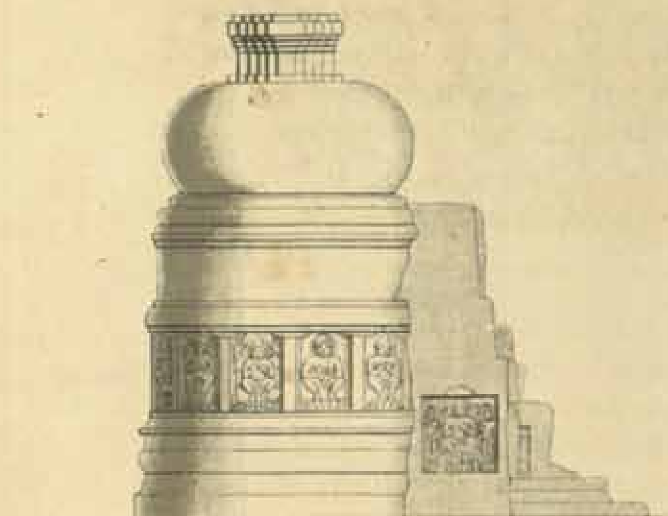
ELURÂ.

1. SECTION THROUGH THE FRONT OF VISVAKARMA CHAITYA CAVE.

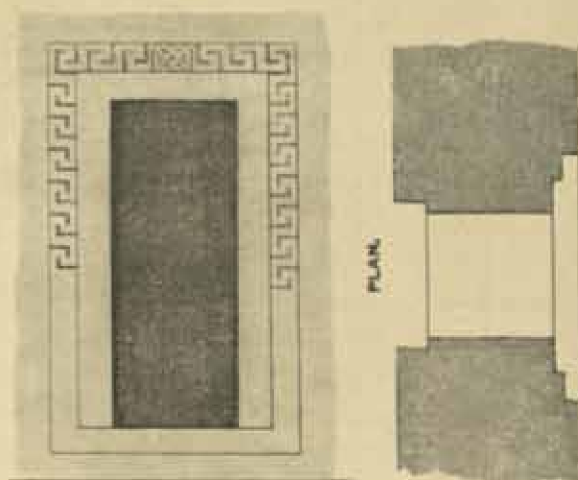
Scale to figs 1 & 2.

Scale of feet

2. DAGOBA.



3. NORTH DOOR OF VISVAKARMA CHAITYA CAVE.



Scale of feet

J. Burgess.

CHAPTER III.

THE THREE LARGER BUDDHIST CAVES.

Viśvakarma Cave, No. X.

Cave X. is the great Chaitya rock temple, the only one of the kind at Elurâ, and locally known as Viśvakarma's, or "the Carpenter's shop." It is a splendid temple, with a fine façade and large open court in front, surrounded by a corridor, and worthily concludes the series of Buddhist Chaitya caves, which, taken altogether, are perhaps the most interesting group of buildings or caves in India. We can now trace the sequence of them from the early wood-fronted examples at Pitalkhorâ, Kondâṇe, and Bhâjâ, through the stone-fronted caves of Beḍsâ and Kârlê, to the elaborately decorated façades of the two latest at Ajaṇṭâ, till at last it loses nearly all its characteristic external features in this one at Elurâ. The earlier ones are all certainly anterior to the Christian era—some probably as early as 200 or 250 B.C.—and as this one can hardly be dated before 650 A.D., the series extends in nearly unbroken continuity for about nine centuries. During this long period we can easily trace the progress from the great open front of a cave covered by an external screen, first in wood, and then in stone ornamented in wood, till subsequently we find it constructed entirely in stone with limited dimensions for the opening, and at last the great horse-shoe window was contracted into the triple Venetian window of this Viśvakarma Cave, as represented in the annexed woodcut (No. 3); and the screen in front had entirely disappeared. So altered, however, is it from the grand simplicity of the great arched window at Kârlê, that if we had not all the intermediate steps by which the changes can be followed out we should hardly be able to trace it back to its original form, or to feel sure that it was the same architectural feature.



No. 3.—Façade of the Viśvakarma Cave.[1]

The interior of this temple is 85 feet 10 inches long inside, by 43 feet 2 inches wide,

[1] From Fergusson's *Ind. and East. Archit.*, p. 128.

and 33 feet 11 inches from the floor to the under edge of the stone ridge board. The pillars that separate the nave from the aisles are 14 feet high, and the triforium 4 feet deep. Its arrangements, however, may be best studied on the ground plan and details given in *The Cave Temples* (plates lxii and lxiii). To these are here added a longitudinal section (plate iii, fig. 1) through the front of the cave, showing the corridor on the right hand or south side of the court below—with portions of the sculptured panels on the back walls—the wide balcony over the entrance portico, and the deep gallery above the front cross aisle, which advances considerably into the cave,—differing in this respect from the earlier Chaitya temples in that the great arch, besides being altered in front and the window divided, is of much less depth than usual and than the gallery; and a transverse section (plate xvi, fig. 1).

The narrow triforium over the pillars of the nave is divided into compartments, each containing a figure of Buddha, seated with his hands in the *dharmachakra mudra*, with various groups of attendants (see plate xvii, fig. 2); and on a band below is a line of rollicking dwarfs or *gaṇa*, similar to what we find on the basements of the Bâdâmi Brahmanical caves of the sixth century, and on the Vaishṇava temple at Aihoḷe. Above this triforium the ribs of the roof spring, each from a small Nâga figure, the alternate ones being males in an attitude of adoration, and the females each holding a flower in their right hands. On the inner side of the gallery, the band of *gaṇa* is continued, but the upper and broader portion (see fig. 1) is divided into a large central and two smaller side panels, each filled with standing figures, which it is difficult to identify with any scene in the Bauddha legends.



No. 4.—Interior of the Viśvakarma Cave, from a photograph.

The pattern of the pillars is also shown in the section (plate iii, fig. 1), and one of the pair under the gallery, which are more elaborately carved, is drawn to a larger scale on plate xviii, fig. 2. At the end of the verandah that passes the entrance is a chapel, in which may be seen the central figure—that of Avalôkitêśvara or Padmapâṇi, and to the right, that of Dharma or "the law," always personified as a female, with four arms, holding a bottle, a *triśûla*, and a rosary. The figure on the other side is also a female, but with only two arms.

The side elevation of the dâgoba is given to the same scale in plate iii, fig. 2, showing the difference of its style from those of the earlier caves, and even from those of Ajaṇṭâ.[1] It is 26 feet 10 inches high, and the circular part of it is 15 feet 6 inches in diameter. The capital, no longer square as in all the early examples, is cut up by numerous offsets, like the shafts of some of the pillars in the large cave at Bâdâmi. The body of it is carved round about with alternate broad and narrow panels (plate xvii, fig. 3) containing figures of Buddha

[1] See Vol. iv, plates xv, xvii, xxxi and xxxvi.

seated with his feet on the lotus, his hands in the *dharmachakra mudrâ*, with and without attendant *chauri*-bearers. On the front of it a large mass of rock, 16 feet 10 inches high, is left as a frontispiece, and is carved with a huge image of Buddha, 10 feet 11 inches from the feet to the top of the head, seated with his hands in the favourite *dharmachakra mudrâ*, with the usual pair of Bodhisattva attendants,[1]—Avalôkitêśvara and Mañjuśrî. The accompanying woodcut, No. 4, shows the front of this dâgoba. Two pairs of *gandharvas* with offerings appear above the Buddha, on an arch the upper part of which is also carved with the *Bôdhi* tree.

The simple but elegant side-door into the left side aisle is represented to scale in fig. 3 (pl. iii). The central door has small figures in pairs all round the architectrave, with Nâga guardians at the bottom on each side. Outside the architrave is the usual leaf-border.

In the balcony in front of the window is a portico on each side, with cells behind.[2] The stair lands in the one on the north side, and opposite the landing, over the door of a cell in the east end, is the same group of two males and a female, which we meet with again in the Tin Ṭhâl (pl. xviii, fig. 3). On the right side of this same door is a standing figure of Buddha, with two small attendants, and on the left a figure seated cross-legged, and another with the right foot down, wearing a necklace and holding a lotus. There are also numbers of figures of Buddha on the walls, some in little arched niches.

A recess on the right side of the front window contains Avalôkitêśvara, with two female attendants and *gandharvas*. His head is represented on plate xix, fig. 3; and on the frieze of this recess is a fine group of dwarfs. A similar recess on the north side contains Mañjuśrî. In the north end of the balcony is a female figure in the centre, holding a lotus, and eight figures of Buddha in line above; six figures with the lotus, and seated with one foot down, are on her left, and five on her right—one of them, a female, with four arms. On the south side is a recess in which is another statue of Avalôkitêśvara with female attendants.



No. 5.—Avalôkitêśvara from the Aurangâbâd Caves.

To the west of this was a portico similar to that on the north side, which has had two pillars in front, but they have fallen away along with the roof. In the back are three cells, and one in the east end, with several seated and standing figures, also a four-armed standing figure (pl. xix, fig. 4), differing considerably from the usual ones of Bodhisattvas, but which may compared with that of Padmapâṇi, represented in the annexed woodcut (No. 5), from the Aurangâbâd Caves.[3] This Elurâ one evidently is meant for Vajrapâṇi, and it is to be observed that while he holds a *vajra* in his left hand, the end of another is represented over his head, as if emerging from it. The other symbols he holds are too much injured to be recognised. This figure is possibly an early form of Vajrapâṇi, as now represented in Tibet, in the terrific aspect of Chyag-*r*dor—"the subduer of evil spirits."[4]

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[1] *Cave Temples*, pp. 379–381.

[2] See the plan of the balcony in *The Cave Temples*, plate lxii.

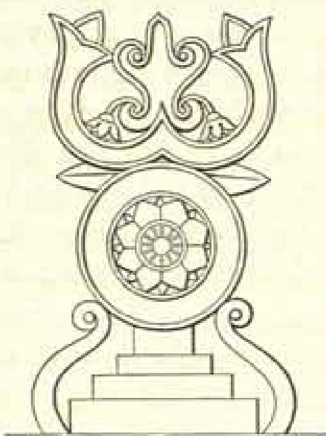
[3] *Report*, vol. iii, p. 80.

[4] Schlagentweit's *Buddhism in Tibet*, p. 114. Curiously enough, the Buddhists have got a version of the Hindu story of the churning of the ocean for the *Amṛita*, which was given in charge to Vajrapâṇi, but stolen by Râhu.

Next to this is a figure of Buddha, with Padmapâṇi and Vajrapâṇi as supporters, the latter of whom holds up the *vajra* in his right hand, and has an opening flower-bud in his left. The other figures are too numerous to describe, but the sculptures here and in the Tin Thâl alone would form a most important contribution to a Bauddha pantheon. Two of the heads of female figures in this verandah are represented in figs. 1 and 2 of plate xix. These may be compared with those in other illustrations in this volume, and with the heads from Auraṅgâbâd caves given in volume iii, plates xlix, liii, liv, and lv.



No. 6.—Triśula ornament from Amarâvati.

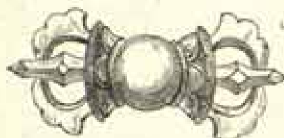


No. 7.—Triśula symbol from Sânchi.

The *vajra* or fulmen is so frequently represented in the sculptures here that it seems to demand a word of explanation. In Nepâl it has become a favourite symbol of Buddhism, and is constantly sculptured about their temples. In its simplest form, with only one set of prongs, it would almost seem that possibly it may have been derived from the *triśula* symbol so frequently represented at Amarâvatî and Sânchi, and figured in the accompanying woodcuts (Nos. 6 and 7). It is usually, however, represented with two similar ends, as in the accompanying representations of sculptured *vajras*,—(No. 8) from Nepâl, and (No. 9) from China, and of the usual form found at Elurâ (No. 10),



No. 8.—Vajra from Nepâl.



No. 9.—Vajra from China.



No. 10.—Indian vajra.

though here it is also found with only one end. It is to be remembered, however, that the *triśula* is also a Brahmanical symbol (see pl. xxx, fig. 3), and so also is the *vajra*.

But in Tibet and Nepâl a sort of double *vajra*, having a hooked prong on four sides of the central one, is often made of metal, richly moulded and gilt, and is placed on an altar or a *Dharmadhâtumaṇḍala*, in front of or inside the temples, where it is an object of worship. This is called a *Viśvavajra*, and the accompanying woodcut (No. 11) represents one of these instruments, about five feet in length, made of copper by one of the Nepâl râjas in the middle of the seventeenth century, and placed in front of the great temple of Adi-Buddha at Svayambhunâth. The *viśva* is the symbol of Amoghasiddha, the fifth Jñâni Buddha, and of his Bodhisattva Viśvapâṇi.



No. 11.—Viśvavajra from Nepâl.[1]

Every lama in Tibet and every Baṇḍya priest in Nepâl must possess a small *vajra*, which they use when repeating their prayers and at all ceremonies of importance, as at marriages, the initiation of novices, &c., and in the latter country the priests receive the title of *Vajra-Achâryas* from the use

[1] From Oldfield's *Sketches from Nepâl*, vol. ii, p. 220.

of this instrument.[1] It is the symbol of Akshobhya, the second Jñâni Buddha, and of his Bodhisattva, Vajrapâṇi.[2]

In this balcony there remains to be noticed the only inscription at all of an early date found among the Bauddha caves here; but it is only the *mantra* of the Mahâyâna school,[3] carved in characters of perhaps the eighth or ninth century, probably about the time when the figures over which it is found were inserted (see pl. xviii, No. 1). It reads—

Yê dharma hêtu prabhavâ hêtuṁ, têshâṁ tathâgato, hyavadattêshâṁ cha yô ni-rôdha, êvaṁ vâdi mahâśramaṇa[*ḥ.*]

"All things proceed from cause; this cause has been declared by the Tathâgata; all things will cease to exist; this is that which is declared by the great Śramaṇa (Buddha)."

Though to this mantra is ascribed the conversion of Maudgalyâyana and Śâriputtra, the two chief disciples of Buddha, it probably owes its origin to some of the early Mahâyâna teachers. It was found on a stone slab and on several clay seals at Sarnâth, near Banâras, and on a copperplate in the *stûpa* excavated by Dr. Bird at Kaṇheri, on numerous clay seals discovered at the same place by Mr. West in 1853, and the first part of it is given in a short inscription cut into the square body of a dâgoba in bas-relief on the right-hand side wall in the court of the great Chaitya cave.[4] This celebrated philosophical formula has also been found in inscriptions from Afghanistan, Tirhut, Burma, Singhapur, and Java, and is well known in the Bauddha literature of Nepâl, Tibet, China, and Ceylon.

The Doṅ Ṭhâl Cave, No. XI.

The next cave is the Doṅ Ṭhâl, so called because it was long supposed to consist of only two storeys. In 1876, however, the lower storey was excavated of the earth which had completely buried it. The plans of all three floors are given in plate xv, from which it will be observed that the upper storey has been carried farthest into the rock, though apparently it never was nearly completed. It may be doubtful whether it was originally intended to form cells in the blocks left at the back of the verandah, but several cells have just been commenced in the walls, whether for residence or small chapels is not quite clear. The second storey consists only of a verandah with eight massive square pillars in front, a small shrine at one end, and three larger ones in the back, the central one (otherwise the smaller) having a room in front with two square pillars. The larger shrines on each side

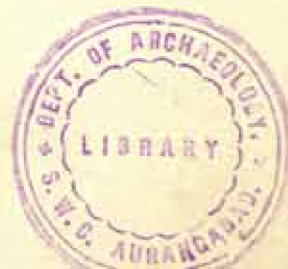
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1 Huc's *Travels in Tartary*, &c., vol. ii, p. 221; Oldfield's *Sketches from Nepal*, vol. ii, p. 201; Hodgson's *Essays*, pp. 41, 63.

2 This was the case even in Fah-hian's time, who speaks of it as "the golden mace."—Beal's *Fah-hian*, p. 94; and conf. Julien, *Mém. sur les Cont. Occid.*, tome i, pp. 340, 134, 319; ii, 114.

3 The following are the principal references on this formula:—*Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. iv, pp. 133, 211, 286, 713; vol. v, pp. 157, 158, 658; vol. x, p. 95; vol. xvi, p. 78, and plate i; vol. xviii, pt. i, p. 247, and plate x; *Asiat. Res.*, vol. v, p. 131; vol. xx, p. 52, or Feer's French translation in *Ann. Mus. Guimet*, tome ii, p. 155; Hodgson's *Essays*, 1st ed. p. 158, or 2nd ed. p. 111; Hardy's *Man. of Budh.*, 2nd ed. p. 201 (1st ed. p. 196); Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 51; Bird's *Historical Researches*, p. 64; Crawfurd's *Hist. of the Indian Archipelago*, vol. ii, p. 212, and plate 31, which strongly resembles this Elurâ example in the character of the alphabet; Schlagentweit's *Buddhism in Tibet*, p. 17, or French transl. p. 13; Beal's *Romantic Legend*, p. 329; and Wong Puh's *Memorial of Śâkya Buddha* in *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, vol. xx, p. 166; Burnouf's *Introd. à l'Hist. du Buddh. Ind.*, 2me ed. p. 308 note (1re ed. p. 345); and *Lotus*, pp. 522-526; Kern, *Hist. du Bouddh.* in *Rev. de l'Hist. des Relig.*, tome v, p. 149; Sykes, in *J. R. As. Soc*, vol. xvi, pp. 37–53, and plates i–iii; West, *Jour. Bom. B. R. As. Soc.*, vol. vi, pp. 158, 159, and plates v and vii a–d.

4 *Jour. Bom. B. R. As. Soc.*, vol. vi, p. 4, No. 8.



contain colossal figures of Buddha seated cross-legged with the soles of his feet turned up, but here, as in the Tín Ṭhâl also, each side of the chamber is carved with tall attendant Bodhisattvas, which will be more particularly noticed below. The ground-floor consists of a verandah about 89 feet in length by 6½ wide, and 8 feet 4 inches high, with seven square pillars in front, though it was intended to add an eighth at the left end. In the back wall of this verandah are three rooms or shrines, two of them quite unfinished, but the central one, containing a cross-legged image of Buddha with Padmapâṇi and Vajrapâṇi as attendants, one on each side.

The court in front is about 102 feet wide by 45 deep, with an approach on the west about 50 feet wide. In the left, or north-west corner of this court, is a large irregular room with a bench round the inner walls of it, and beside it is a chapel containing two images and attendants—that on the back or north side being Avalôkitêśvara seated on a *siṁhâsana* or lion-throne, with a female figure seated cross-legged on each side of him—the one on the left having four arms. Above, on each side, are seated figures. To the left is another four-armed *dêvî*—probably Dharma—with a rosary (*mâlâ*) and a flower. On the right side of the room is a headless figure of Buddha, behind whom stand two Bôdhisattvas, and at the sides *chauri*-bearers. There are also other figures on the walls.

On the right side of the entrance to the court is a smaller, rudely cut chamber, and there are some others quite filled up with earth.

The verandah of the first floor above is 102½ feet long by 9 feet wide and 10 feet 3 inches high, with three shrines in the back, and two cells—one of them only begun. There is also a fourth shrine at the south end, having an arched door. This last contains a figure of Buddha, seated cross-legged on a high square block; above his shoulders are two *gandharvas* or Bauddha cherubs, while Avalôkitêśvara or Padmapâṇi[1] and Mañjuśrî or Vajrapâṇi[2] attend him as *chauri*-bearers. By the side of the latter stand three male figures with

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[1] Avalôkitêśvara, Padmapâṇi, or Karuṇârṇava—in Tibetan *s*Pyan-ras-*g*zigs-*d*vang-phyug (pronounced Chenresivanchug)—is the "on-looking lord," called also Abhayaṁdada—"the remover of fear," Abhyutgatarâja—"the great august king," and in China Kwan-yin. He was apparently unknown till about the third century, but is mentioned as a hearer in the *Saddharma-puṇḍarîka Sûtra* (cir. 300 A.D.), of which Mañjuśrî is the mythical author. Avalôkitêśvara is held in special reverence in Tibet as the protector of the country; and the Dalai-Lamas are regarded as his successive incarnations.—See *Reports*, vol. iii, pp. 75, 76; Beal's *Fah-hian*, p. 60; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. viii, pp. 249–253; *Cave Temples*, p. 357, &c.

[2] Vajrapâṇi is one of the names of S'akra or Indra, the god of thunder, who with his bolt (*vajra*) slays the enemies of Buddhism, and, in Nepâl, is the Jñâni Bôdhisattva of Akshôbhya. He is represented in a blue robe, and is called in Tibet Lag-na-*r*do-*r*je or Phyag-na-*r*do-*r*je. Hodgson calls him "the æon of Vajrasattva Buddha," who is the Magnus Apollo of the Tântrikas (*Essays*, 2nd ed. pp. 15 and 17, note; or, 1st ed. pp. 23 and 25, n.) The Yogâchâra school make Vajrapâṇi identical with Mañjuśrî; but in China they seem to be regarded as distinct personages, called respectively Chi-kin-kang-shin and Miao-ki-ts'iang or Wen-shu. In all the Northern schools, however, Mañjuśrî is ranked along with Avalokitêśvara; conf. Vassilief, p. 125; Burnouf, *Introd.*, pp. 100, 101. Ghaṇṭâpâṇi is the proper Bodhisattva of Vajrasattva (Hodgson, *Essays*, p. 94). In China, the place to the left of Buddha is often occupied by Ta-shi-chi-p'u-sa or Mahâsthânaprâpta, who properly belongs to the retinue of Amitâbha, the favourite Jñâni Buddha. It is apparently doubtful whom he represents; Schott says Maudgalyâyana, but we find in some of their temples groups consisting of Dîpaṅkara, Avalôkitêśvara, Samantabhadra, Mañjuśrî, S'âriputtra, Mahâsthânaprâpta, *and* Maudgalyâyana (Teü-tseu). Maudgalyâyana, however, was "the disciple of the left hand," and this agrees with the position assigned to Mahâsthânaprâpta in China, and that given to Vajrapâṇi in India. S'âriputra, as the representative of complete esoteric wisdom, might be supposed to be the proper analogue of Mañjuśrî; and Maudgalyâyana—pre-eminent for the force of divine faculties—as that of Avalôkitêśvara. Neither Mahâsthânaprâpta nor Samantabhadra are mentioned by Hiwen Thsang. As the former is represented with a small chaitya or dâgaba on his forehead to contain the relics (*śarîra*) of Buddha, and a *vajra*, he is probably the same as the Vajrapâṇi of the caves. He is called Seissi in Japan; and Samantabhadra is called Fu-gwen.

high headdresses and aureoles behind their heads, and opposite to them are three females or Dêvîs—one bearing a flower-stalk. These are, doubtless, the Târâs or female counterparts (*bodhisattvasamuchchayâs*) of the Bodhisattvas. Close to this, in the back of the verandah, is a door into a cell with a low broad bench or bed on the right side. Next to this is a shrine, with Buddha seated cross-legged on a throne, with four armed dwarfs at the corners, his hands in the *bhûmisparśa mudrâ*,[1] that is, the left lying open in the lap and the right over the knee, with the back turned outwards. A small half figure of a female, in front of the throne and towards Buddha's right, holds up a jar. This is probably intended to represent Sujâtâ,[2] the daughter of Senâni, who offered boiled milk to Gautama, just before he became a Buddha.

The *chauri*-bearers are, as usual here, the two Bodhisattvas, the *vajra* or bolt of the left one being supported on a flower by his side. On the same side are also three other standing figures, the first with a flower, the second with a large round bud, and the third with a pennon. Opposite these last are other three—the last with a long straight sword. A pair of *gandharvas* appear over each shoulder of the Buddha, and on the side walls over the Bodhisattvas are six Buddhas seated cross-legged on two shelves. To the north of the door into this shrine, a little figure kneels in an arched recess.

The central door leads into a room about 30 feet wide by 20 feet deep, and 8 feet 9 inches high, with two square pillars in the middle, and partially lighted by an opening in the wall on each side of the door. In the shrine behind it, 13 feet wide and 8 feet 9 inches high, is an image of Buddha on a *siṁhâsana*, in the *bhûmisparśa mudrâ*, with the usual Bodhisattvas as attendants—Vajrapâṇi holding the thunderbolt in his uplifted right hand.

The shrine door to the left of this has mouldings round it, and lions carved at the foot of the jambs on the step. The sculpture inside is very similar to that on the other side of the principal shrine, but with the addition of a fat male figure on the front wall to the left of the entrance, and a female on the right.

On the verandah wall, between this and the door into an unfinished cell, is a figure of Dharma—that might be mistaken for Lakshmî—four-armed, with water-pot, lotus, and rosary,—also two other female figures.

A stair in the rock leads up to the third storey, which has a hall 101 feet long, by 21 feet deep and 9 feet 7 inches high, but badly lighted on account of two large blocks left on each side the vestibule leading into it from the verandah. All the light admitted comes through this vestibule 30 feet wide and 15 feet deep, and through a narrow door and passage at each end. In the hall is one row of eight square pillars running from end to end. The pillars of the verandah have very thin plain brackets, and but little ornament on their square shafts (pl. xvi, fig. 5). Outside them is a low parapet wall. Inside, the pillars are perfectly plain. At the south end of the verandah is an empty cell, and in the inner walls are three slight cuttings, the beginnings of cells. In the middle of the back wall is an ante-chamber with two square pillars in front, and through it is the shrine containing a

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[1] Also called the *dharmasparśa mudrâ*; the fingers of the right hand usually touch the seat.

[2] Sujâtâ = Eugenia: for the story, see Bigandet's *Legend of Gaudama* (3rd ed.), vol. i. p. 82; S. Hardy's *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 170; Beal's *Fa-hian*, p. 121, and *Romantic Legend*, p. 194, where Sujâtâ's father is called Nandika. In the *Lalita Vistara*, as in some of the other versions, there are two sisters, Trapushâ and Bhallikâ, who prepare the milk for him; in other accounts they are called Nandâ and Nandabalâ, daughters of Sujâta, the lord of the village. E. Arnold, in his *Light of Asia*, quite alters the legend.

seated Buddha in the teaching attitude, with Avalôkitêśvara or Padmapâṇi and Mañjuśrî or Vajrapâṇi only as attendants. At the north end of the hall is another shrine, with a Buddha squatted on a throne and attendants. On the walls of this cave are many small figures of Buddha, a Padmapâṇi with four arms, figures seated on lotuses, in the *lalitâsana mudrâ*, with one foot under them and the other on the ground—both male and female. Figures of Mahîśâsurî and Gaṇapati on the south wall are evidently of late date.

Cave XII.—The Tîn Ṭhâl.

The twelfth and last of the series of Bauddha caves here is the Tîn Ṭhâl or three-storeyed cave-temple, adapted for worship rather than as a monastery. This is, of its class, one of the most important and interesting caves at Elurâ. In no other series do we find a three-storeyed vihâra carried out with the same consistency of design and the like magnificence as in this example, and from these circumstances there is a grandeur and propriety in its appearance that it would be difficult to surpass in cave architecture. The greatest interest, however, lies in its being a transitional example between the styles of the two great religions which divide between them the principal examples of the architectural magnificence of the place. On comparing it with the Dâs Avatâra Cave, that all but immediately succeeds, it seems almost as if the builders of this cave had been persuaded to change their faith and by gentle means to adopt the new religion, and not that they had been converted by persecution, as has been very generally supposed. So gently, indeed, does the change seem to take place, that we can hardly detect it in the architecture, though the sculptures announce it with sufficient distinctness. But the mode in which sculpture is substituted in the upper storey of this cave for the arrangement of cells in the older and genuine vihâras, shows that a change was creeping over the form of the religion long before it pronounced itself by the acceptance and adoration of the new gods.

The inner portion of the court is 107 feet wide by about 46 deep, but just inside the entrance an area of 46 feet by 19 feet has to be added to this. On the right side of this latter is a stair leading up to the top of the front wall of the court.

The lower hall, which is open in front, measures about 116 feet by 42 feet and is 11 feet high, the roof being supported by twenty-four square pillars in three rows, with pilasters along the back wall. In the left or north end wall are three cells, each with a stone bench in it, and in the south end are two cells and an open apartment forming a lobby to the stair leading up to the first floor. In the back wall are also four cells, two near each end, and in the middle is a large antechamber to the shrine, 37 feet wide and 40 feet deep, with two square pillars in front, and four more supporting the roof, with corresponding pilasters on each side wall, having a cell on each side between the first and second pilasters.

Between the two pilasters, on the back wall of the hall to the left of the antechamber, is a large compartment carved in nine square panels (plate xix, fig. 6), each sculptured with a different figure. Buddha himself occupies the centre with Avalôkitêśvara on his right hand and Vajrapâṇi or Mañjuśrî on his left. The figure in the middle of the upper row has a sword supported on a lotus flower—a symbol borne by different Lôkêśvaras, such as Mañjuśrî, Siṁhanâtha, and Mahâsthânaprâpta; possibly it may be the last of these. The figures on each side of him have branches of different sorts, and those in the lower corners have a pennon and a book similarly upheld, while the middle one has a closed

lotus bud.[1] Which of the Bôdhisattvas each of these is we can hardly say, but the corner four may perhaps be Ratnapâṇi, Ghaṇṭâpâṇi, Maitrêya, and Samantabhadra; or the six above and below may be analogous to a group sometimes met with in China, including Śâriputtra and Maudgalyâyana (the two *agraśrâvakas*), Samantabhadra, Ânanda, Kâśyapa (the *Ârya Sthavira*), and Râhula (Gautama's son).[2] But it is not improbable that such designations as Vajrapâṇi, Padmapâṇi, Mahâsthânaprâpta, Kshitigarbha, Ghaṇṭâpâṇi, &c., were first given for obvious reasons to figures of the favourite disciples of Buddha, and that afterwards the original names dropped out of use, and the epithets became designations of Bôdhisattvas—a class of beings not recognised by the schools of the Hînayâna. But whatever be their names, they correspond with the standing figures we meet with so frequently in the shrines at Elurâ, arranged side by side along either wall.

In a corresponding area to the south of the antechamber has been a figure of Buddha seated cross-legged with Avalôkitêśvara and Mañjuśrî[3] as attendants, but this sculpture is very much destroyed.

On all the pilasters of the antechamber figures have been sculptured; in three cases Buddha occupies the upper part of the area with the usual Bôdhisattva attendants; and below, on one, is a female, Târâ, with the lotus; on another, Buddha alone; on a third, the same with attendants; on a fourth, another female; and on a fifth, Buddha with a four-armed *dêvî*—perhaps Dharma (repeated thrice below) having an elongated object in her lap and a sort of sceptre in one of her left hands.

In recesses on the right are large figures of Buddha cross-legged on *siṁhâsanas*, with attendants having flowers of different sorts in their hands. On each side of the shrine door are seated fat guardian figures, each holding a flower stalk; that on the right (south) side has a book laid over the opening bud, and hence may represent Mañjuśrî.[4]

On the wall of the small lobby from which the stair ascends, the sculpture of nine panels is repeated, but is much defaced; there is also above it a Buddha between two *chauri*-bearers, one with a flower and the other with a bud covered by a book, to his right a female holding a flower-stalk, and to the left a four-armed Dêvî with a rosary and bottle or goglet.

Ascending the stair, at the turning we enter a small room about 23 feet by 15, with two pillars in front, looking into the court, on the back wall of which is carved a large cross-

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[1] Mr. Beal suggests that this may be Kshitigarbha, the Ti-tsang p'usa of the Chinese; see Vassilief, pp. 170, 175.

[2] In China Ânanda and Kâśyapa often stand next to Buddha in the shrines, and with Mañjuśrî, Samantabhadra, Śâriputtra, and Maudgalyâyana, form a group of six; but in China and Japan, Buddha has sometimes Mañjuśrî on his left mounted on a lion, and Samantabhadra on an elephant at his right.—Edkins, *Rel. in China*, p. 229, and *Ann. du Mus. Guimet*, tome iv, p. 276, and plate vii, p. 110. In Ceylon the usual attendant figures are Mogallano and Sariputto (the two *aggasâvakas*), Râhulo, Ânando, and Kassapo.

[3] Mañjuśrî appears under many names, as Mañjunâtha, Mahâmati, Kumârarâja, Khaḍgin, Vajradhara, Vibhuśaṇa, Śârdûlavâhana, Siṁhakêli, &c., and sometimes bears a sword in his right hand, and a book on a lotus flower in the left. He is the apotheosis of transcendental wisdom, as Avalôkitêśvara is of mercy. He has two wives, Sarasvatî and Lakshmî, and in China is regarded as presiding over air [wind]. He is the prince of eloquence and spiritual son of Śâkya. The worship of Mañjuśrî and Avalôkitêśvara seems to have come into vogue in India before the time of Fah-hian (A.D. 400). He is regarded as the special protector of Nepâl, and the Emperor of China is styled his incarnation.—Beal's *Fah-hian*, p. 60; *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, vol. xvi, p. 204; Csoma, *Tibet. Gram.*, p. 182 ff; *As. Res.*, vol. xvi, pp. 459–473; *Jour. As. Soc. Ben.*, vol. xii, pt. i, pp. 402, 404, 408; Burnouf, *Lotus*, p. 498 ff.

[4] The shrine has been fully described in *The Cave Temples*, p. 382.

legged Buddha seated on a *simhâsana*, with Gandharvas above him and the two favourite Bôdhisattvas as *chauri*-bearers. To the right and left of this are the nine panels again repeated, and over that to the right are three arched compartments containing figures of four-armed goddesses similar to those representing Dharma and Samgha in the mythology of the northern Buddhists, the second with lotus bud and attendants, and the third with perhaps a bottle and *shankh* or conch shell. On the east wall is a four-armed Dêvî with something like a dish filled with fruit or food in one of her left hands on her lap, and holding a lotus, &c. Then Buddha and attendants; and again two figures of the four-armed goddess, her two front hands laid on her knees; and lastly, Buddha with attendants.

On the west wall is Padmapâṇi seated with one leg tucked under him and his hands on his knees (plate xviii, fig. 3). To his left is a goddess, probably Târâ or Prajñâ, with a dâgaba on the front of her headdress, and with the right foot down over the *padmâsana* or lotus seat, and the left doubled up on it (*lalitâsana mudrâ*). Her right hand lies over her knee with the palm turned outwards (*vardha* or *vara mudrâ*), the attitude of bestowal, and the left holds the stalk of a flower. On the other side is a fat figure with the right foot raised upon the seat, and a bud at his elbow.[1] Outside this compartment to the left are two females in the attitude of supplication, and above them a male figure with a flower-stalk—the usual badge of a Bôdhisattva.

Ascending the other half of the stair, we land in a small room at the south end of the verandah of the second storey, which is on the same plan as the upper floor of the last cave, but with a larger hall (pl. xiv, fig. 2). The verandah is 116 feet long by 11 feet wide and 12 feet 2 inches high, with eight square pillars in front, and with a small room at each end, forming at the south the landing for the stair from the ground floor, and at the north the entrance to the stair ascending to the upper floor. From each of these a still sma[ller] apartment opens; that at the south, a small cell with a stone bench; the other, a rec[ess], with an image of Buddha seated with the wheel-emblem between his feet, his hands in the *dharmachakra* or teaching *mudrâ*, and in front, on the ground, two deer. Padmapâṇi and Vajrapâṇi, with *chauris*, stand on each side, coarsely executed. On the wall, opposite the foot of the stair, are Padmapâṇi and two female figures, and, above them, a dâgaba, a Buddha, and a male and female, each with flower-stalks.

The hall lies back from the verandah, and is entered through a vestibule about 36 feet wide by 18 feet deep, with two square pillars in front and back, and also by side doors at the ends of the verandah. In each of the large blocks of rock left two cells are carved, facing the hall, which is 118 feet from north to south, by about 34 feet deep and 11 feet 5 inches high, divided into three aisles by rows of eight square pillars each—two of them partly hewn away. In each end of this hall, including the passage from the end door, are four cells; and in the back wall are five more. The antechamber to the shrine is 36 feet wide, with two pillars in front.

In the north end of the vestibule of the hall is a large sculpture of Avalôkitêśvara seated between two females (Lôchanî[2] and Târâ), the one on his left hand having a bottle

[1] This is apparently one of the Triads of which the Bauddha sects have so many, in one of the chief of which Padmapâṇi is identified with the Samgha, the other two being Buddha and Prajnâ who represents the Dharma. It is in connection with this Triad that the Northern Buddhists have the famous mantra,—

Om sarva vidye hom | *Om Prajñâye hom* | *Om maṇi-padme hom* ||

[2] She occupies a high place in the Mahâyâna mythology, and is represented as the second constituent of the *Trikâya* or "threefold body," or that endued with the *sambhôgakâya* of absolute completeness, and the equivalent or counterpart of the *Samgha* in the *Triratna*. In Nepâl she is the *śaktî* of Akshôbhya.

before her; the other had a flower-stalk by her side. On the pilaster to the left are a squatting figure of Buddha, two male figures, and four females, with different flowers. On that to the right is a dâgaba and flag, a squatting Buddha, and a Bodhisattva with a flower. Behind this is a repetition of the sculpture with the nine figures, only here Buddha is in the centre of the upper row. On the south end is a repetition of the sculpture on a smaller scale, but with two *Dêvis* on each side.

On the north pilaster of the antechamber to the shrine is carved a dâgaba, with a Buddha on the front of it; below it a squatting Buddha, and still lower a Dêvî with a flower branch. The shrine door is plain, but has large figures of Padmapâṇi with his lotus and rosary, and Vajrapâṇi with his *fulmen*, as guardians.

The shrine itself is about 22 feet wide, 19 feet deep, and 13 feet 8 inches high. It contains an enormous image of Buddha seated cross-legged in the *bhûmisparśa mûdrâ*, with the left hand in the lap and the right lying over the knee. In front of the low *padmâsana* or *Bôdhimaṇḍa*, on which he is seated, is a female (Sujâtâ ?) holding up a jar, and to the left is another standing over a prostrate human figure. Against each side wall stand five tall Bôdhisattvas. On the right side are (1.) Avalôkitêśvara or Padmapâṇi as *chauri*-bearer (*châmarika*); (2.) a figure with a bud in his right hand; (3.) another with a sword; (4.) a fourth with his hand raised; and (5.) one with a lotus flower; and on the front wall on a high seat squats a female holding a flower-stalk. On the left side, as in the upper shrine represented in plate xx, fig. 1, are (1.) Vajrapâṇi, with the *vajra* on the top of the flower-stalk; (2.) the second with an opening flower, and holding some small object in his right hand; (3.) with a full-blown flower and a small object; (4.) with a flag and small object; and (5.) with only a bud in the right hand. On the front wall is a stout male, with a round object in the right and a long curling one in the left hand. This is probably the excavator of the cave. On shelves above are seven Buddhas on each side seated cross-legged.

On the jamb of a window that lights the stair ascending to the upper storey is a small figure on horseback with two attendants, and above is a female with a flower.

The upper floor of the Tîn Ṭhâl is by far the most splendid hall among the Bauddha Caves of India. It measures 115 feet in length by 64 deep from the inside of the first row of pillars, and 12 feet 2½ inches high, the roof being supported by forty square pillars in five rows, inclusive of the front one. At the back also it has an open antechamber 37½ feet wide, the front divided by two pillars, and 16¼ feet deep. Unlike the monastic halls of the Ajaṇṭâ vihâras, this has no cells for residents. Five recesses in the south and four in the north end wall contain nine colossal images of Buddhas[1] with their attendants, but unfortunately all the sculptures have been more or less broken, scarcely a figure being left entire in this splendid cave.

Along the back wall of the hall are fourteen large cross-legged figures of Buddhas, seven on the north, and as many to the south of entrance of the antechamber to the shrine. Those on the north side have each his hands in his lap—in the *Jñâna mudrâ*, aureoles behind their heads, and trees rising from behind them, with foliage carefully varied in each case. These must represent the supposed seven last Buddhas, viz. (1.) Vipaśyi; (2.) Śikhî; (3.) Viśvabhû; (4.) Krakuchchhanda; (5.) Kanaka Muni; (6.) Kaśyapa; and (7.) Śâkya Siṁha, whose *Bodhivṛikshas* or sacred trees, according to Mahanâmo in his

[1] Possibly Dîpaṅkara, Ratnagarbha, Vipaśyi, Śikhî, Viśvabhû, Krakuchchhanda, Kanaka Muni, Kaśyapa, and Śâkya Siṁha.

Tika on the *Mahâvanso*,[1] were respectively (1.) the Pâṭalî or trumpet-flower, *Bignonia suaveolens;* (2.) the Puṇḍarîka, a fragrant kind of mango; (3.) the Śâla, *Shorea robusta;* (4.) the Śirîsha, *Acacia sirisa;* (5.) the Udumbara, *Ficus glomorata;* (6.) the Nyagrôdha, *Ficus Indica;* and (7.) the Pippala or Aśvattha, *Ficus religiosa*. Corresponding to these, on the southern portion of the wall, are other seven very similar figures, all in the *dharmachakra mudrâ*, or having the hands in the teaching attitude. From the nimbus behind each head springs a circular flower forming the centre of the underpart of an umbrella (*chhatra*), with a *gandharva* at each side supporting it and carrying a gift. If these, as is probable, are different from the seven to the north of them, I would venture to suggest that they may be the divine Buddhas—Vairôchana,[2] Akshôbhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitâbha, Amôghasiddha, Vajrasatwa and Vajrarâja; but they may really be only the Mânushiya Buddhas differently arranged.

The researches of modern scholars have done much to illustrate the ethical system of the Bauddha doctors, and to acquaint us with the legends that fill their works, but so little attention has as yet been devoted to the practical creed and mythology of the common people, and the liturgical ceremonies of the worship that was daily practised in their temples, that in the whole round of the literature on Buddhism published within the last fifty years,[3] we have but little to help us in identifying the sculptures on the walls of these Bauddha Cave Temples, though representing the beings that the great mass of Buddhists were most taught to reverence, and which occupied their minds far more than the subtle distinction between the heinousness of a *pârâjikâ* and a *dukkaṭa* sin, or the contents and meaning of the *suttas*. The result of this is, that Western opinions of Buddhism, founded on the abridged legends of an idealised Buddha and the moral maxims of Buddhist philosophers, is one-sided and very defective. Special and detailed researches have still to be made into the progressive developments of Buddhism and Bauddha ritual, and for these there doubtless exist abundant materials in the Sanskrit works found in Nepâl, and in the translations of China and Tibet, as well as in the ceremonials still in vogue in these countries. For though Buddhism began with a purely ethical theory, and, as an atheistic system must do, it made little at all of worship—yet in course of time, as the cave sculptures testify, it began to develop a mythology which went on increasing, until, in all countries where the Mahâyâna schools prevailed, Buddhism became one of the most fantastic and grossly idolatrous religious systems in the world. The earlier elements of their pantheon are represented in the Cave Temples of Kaṇheri, Ajaṇṭâ, Aurangâbâd, Bhâjâ, and Elurâ; its later developments are described in the great *Sûtras* of Northern Buddhism, most of which are as yet inaccessible except to a very few Sanskrit scholars. Indian Buddhism, as we learn from the records of the early Chinese pilgrims and the cave sculptures, was to a very large extent of the Mahâyâna form, and it is only from the literature of the schools of that sect we can hope to learn much about it.[4]

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[1] Turnour's *Mahâvanso*, int. p. xxxiii, xxxiv; conf. Cunningham, *Bharhut Stûpa*, pp. 113, 114, and plates xxix, xxx.

[2] Vairôchana is the sun, and also the counterpart of *Dharma* in the *Triratna*, as representing the essence of Buddha and Lôchanî.

[3] The works of Burnouf, Köppen, Hodgson, and the fragment published by Vassilief in 1859, are the best we have on this branch of the subject, and even these only treat of it incidentally.

[4] It is much to be regretted that the valuable collection of drawings presented by Mr. B. H. Hodgson to the French Institute in 1863 have not been published. His papers and illustrations in the *Trans. R. A. Soc.*, vol. ii, and *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, vol. xviii, are most valuable, but we need many more details to illustrate satisfactorily the pantheon of the Buddhists.

On each end wall of the antechamber leading to the shrine are three **Dêvîs**—the inner one on each side with four arms, and holding a rosary and crooked rod—perhaps **Dharma** as **Prajñâpâramitâ**. The others have only two arms each; all are seated on open lotus flowers on raised thrones, have high crowns or tiaras and aureoles, and the left hand is raised, the fingers extended, and with the tips of the forefinger and thumb each holds the stalk of a lotus or similar flower; the right hand on the knee holds another stalk, and all have bracelets formed of many rings, and necklaces. Three other figures on each side the shrine door cover the back wall. Each has her left foot tucked up before or under her, and the right down upon a lotus flower, or in the *lalitâsana mudrâ*. The thrones are supported by Nâgas, &c. One of these figures, to the left of the shrine door (plate xix, fig. 5), has an upright *vajra* supported on the flower she holds, and as this identifies her as Lôchanî, the *Buddhiśakti* of Akshobhya, we may regard the other four on one side the room as her associated goddesses,—Vajradhatêśvarî, Mâmukhî, Pândarâ, and Târâ.[1] The other five, if different, must then be the five Târâs—Sitâ-târâ, Ugrâ-târâ, Ratnâ-târâ, Bhṛîkuṭî-târâ, and Viśvâ-târâ.[2] Above these are four Buddhas on the back wall, on each side the door, and five on each end wall.

The shrine door is plain with bold mouldings and but little carving. The *dwârapâlas* have very high caps, and stand with their arms crossed, and by the door jambs are small couchant lions.

The shrine is 21 feet wide, about 24 feet deep, and 14 feet 4 inches high, and the large Buddha is fully 11 feet high, and from knee to knee is 9 feet, while his feet measure 2 feet 6 inches in length. He is seated cross-legged in the *bhûmisparśa mudrâ*, or that in which he attained Buddhahood, with the left hand in the lap and the right over the knee, pointing to the ground.

His nose and lips have been broken off by the Musalmans, but are supplied in plaster, and the whole figure is frequently whitewashed. Round the seat and image is a dark passage by which it may be circumambulated. On the floor against the front of the throne are the two female figures already noticed as found in the same position in other shrines.

On the sides of the shrine are five tall standing figures of Bôdhisattvas against each wall. On the left side are (1.) Padmapâṇi with a *châmara*, his face destroyed but restored with plaster, as Hanuman's; (2.) a Bôdhisattva with a flower bud; (3.) another (perhaps Viśvapâṇi) with a long sword in the left hand, and a bud or small fly-flap in the right; (4.) the next has a pear-shaped object, and a similar small *chauri;* and (5.) the last has some object not recognisable in his left, and a similar bud or small fly-flap in the right.

The sculpture on the left wall is represented on plate xx, fig. 1. Here on the upper part of the wall are five figures of Buddha, all in the *Jñâna mudrâ* or attitude of meditation. Below on the left and next to the great image of the shrine is Vajrapâṇi acting as *châmara*-bearer to the Buddha, and easily recognised by his very rich headdress, necklaces, jewelled belt, armlets, &c., as well as by the *vajra* or fulmen, supported on a half-opened bud which rises over his left arm. To his left are other four smaller figures—though all much larger than life size—each holding some symbol by which he might be recognised. Thus, the next carries a book, and is perhaps Samantabhadra, the third and fifth hold buds in their left hands, and perhaps some sort of fruit in the right, and the fourth has a small flag or pennon; all stand on lotus flowers, and have very rich headdresses, which vary,

[1] These are respectively the *śaktis* of Vairôchana, Ratnasambhava, Amitâbha, and Amôghasiddha.

[2] These are the wives or *śaktis* of Samantabhadra, Vajrapâṇi, Ratnapâṇi, Padmapâṇi, and Viśvapâṇi respectively, but even their names are scarcely to be found in any Sanskrit dictionary.

however, in minute details. On the front wall is a seated male figure with an object like a purse on his left knee, and something like money in his right hand; below him is a *kamaṇḍalu* or water-jar, with flowers growing out of it; on the other side of the door is a female figure squatting and holding a bud. On the walls above are Buddhas seated cross-legged, five on each side wall, and two on the front wall.

Before leaving these figures it may be worth while comparing them with the analogous ones in the Bâgh caves in Mâlwâ.[1] In the antechamber of the shrine of the most entire cave there (No. I.) are four large sculptured panels; on each end Buddha between two attendants (plate xviii, fig. 4), and on each side the shrine door is a Bôdhisattva about 10 feet high, represented in figs. 2 and 3 of plate xx.[2] That on the right has had his right hand broken off, so that its original position is no longer recognisable; but the general style of both figures is so like those we find at Elurâ, that they cannot be mistaken; and the resemblance to the Bôdhisattvas in the Aurangâbâd caves is still more striking.[3] In both places the figure of Avalôkitêśvara is distinguished by the scantiness of the dress and the absence of jewellery, while that of the other Bodhisattva is marked by the jewelled belt, armlets, bracelets, rich *mukuṭa* and necklaces, while he wears a jewelled cord like the Brahmanical *jânvi*.

The figures that attend on Buddha in the panels in the ends of the antechamber (plate xviii, fig. 4), are perhaps different persons, though the one with the *châmara* on his right is again distinguished by his rich *mukuṭa*, jewelled belt, *jânvi*, and necklace, from the other who bears only flowers in his hands. They are each about 7½ feet high.

This is the last of the series of Bauddha Caves here, and probably one of the last excavated in India. In plan and arrangements, it bears a striking resemblance to the Dâs Avatâra Brahmanical Cave close by,[4] and, as already indicated, it is very probable they were excavated about the same period. It exhibits the early Mahâyâna mythology of the Yôgâchârya school[5] in a more developed state than any other cave in India, and can hardly be ascribed to an earlier date than about 700 A.D.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ELURÂ BRAHMANICAL CAVE TEMPLES.—THE DÂS AVATÂRA AND KAILÂSA.

THE Brahmanical Caves[6] begin at a distance of about fifty yards north of the Tîn Ṭhâl, the first we meet with being a large plain room, probably intended as a rest-house for pilgrims (see plate ii).

In the large cave close to this, known as Râvaṇa-ka-Khâï, the transition to the Brahmanical form is complete. There is nothing in either its architecture or its sculpture that can be mistaken for anything the Buddhists ever did. There are, however, as yet, no

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[1] *Cave Temples*, pp. 363 ff.

[2] In Captain Dangerfield's account of the Bâgh Caves, *Trans. Liter. Soc. Bombay*, vol. ii, pp. 194 ff, are drawings of these figures, but very inaccurate. Dr. Impey's description of the caves, *Jour. Bom. B. R. As. Soc.*, vol. v, pp. 543 ff, is not illustrated.

[3] Compare plate liii in *Reports*, vol. iii, p. 76.

[4] Compare *Cave Temples*, plates lxiv, lxv, with plates lxxiii and lxxiv.

[5] This school, founded as already mentioned, perhaps about A.D. 300, acknowledged the existence of a soul in the universe. The other principal school of the Mahâyâna was the Madhyamika or followers of Nâgârjuna. See Vassilief, pp. 262, 286 f., 321.

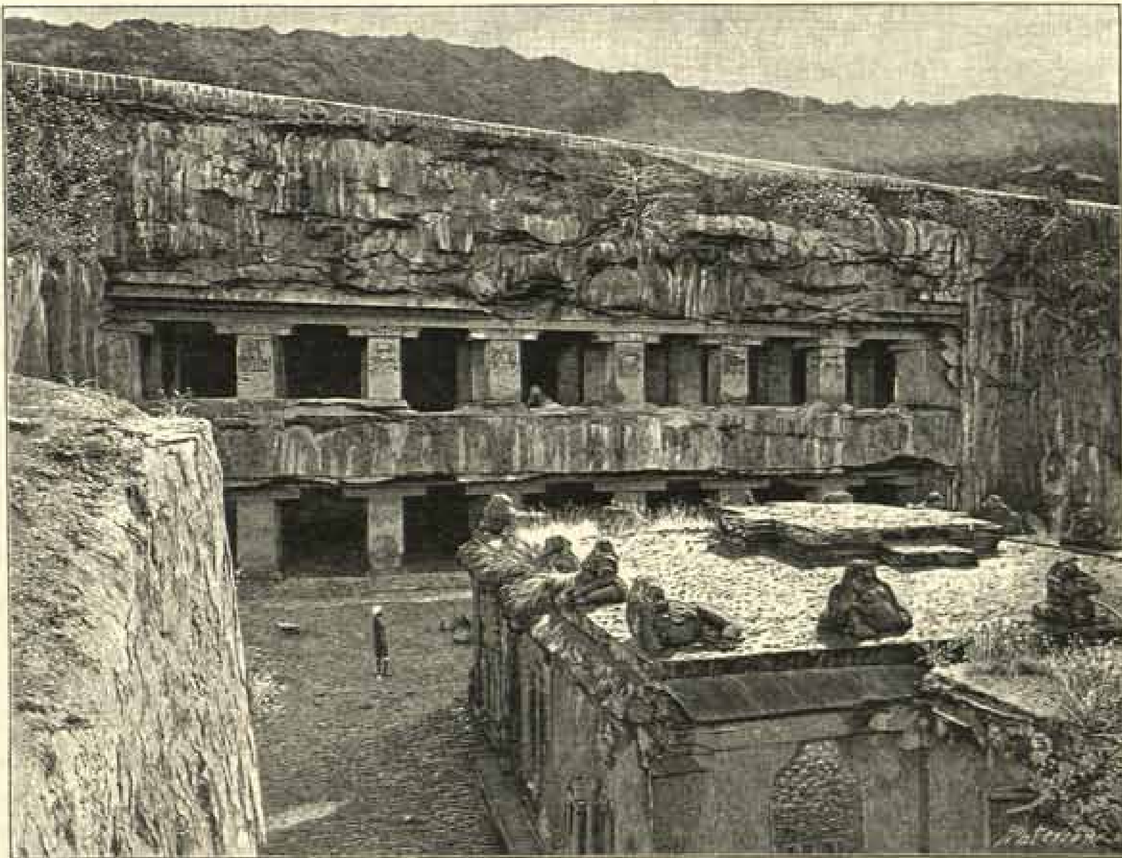
[6] See *Cave Temples*, introduction to chapter v of Book III, p. 431.

violent contrasts. The plan of the temple and the position of the shrine[1] are not unlike what we find in the latest caves at Aurangâbâd and in Cave No. VIII. and the ruined south wing of Cave V. here; and the substitution of sculpture for cells—which are not required in Brahmanical caves—is only carrying out the system inaugurated in the Tîn Ṭhâl.

A plan of this Cave will be found in *The Cave Temples,* plate lxx, fig. 2, and its sculptures are described in sufficient detail, pp. 432–435 of that work, to dispense with anything further being said on the subject here. It has almost certainly been dedicated to one of the goddesses —forms of Pârvati, but—like the Dâs Avatâra, a large cave at Karusâ, a small one at Aihoḷe, and some of the earlier temples—its sculptures are partly Vaishṇava and partly Śaiva.

The Dâs Avatâra Cave.

The next cave is a two-storeyed one, and one of the largest in the Brahmanical group. Plans of both floors are given in *The Cave Temples,* plates lxxiii and lxxiv, and on plate xxiii, fig. 2, of this volume is added a transverse section of the cave and through the court, with its central maṇḍapa. Though on a small scale, this will help to illustrate the arrangements of the cave, and show how the sculptures are disposed on the left wall of the upper floor. Outside, on the end of the balcony, is a four-armed Rudra in a state of frantic excitement, but a leg and one of the hands are broken off.



No. 12.—The Dâs Avatâra Cave, from a photograph.

The general appearance of the front of this cave, as seen from one side of the court, is illustrated by the accompanying woodcut (No. 12), in which the roof of the hall in the court is seen in the foreground.

[1] We observe the earlier approaches to this arrangement in the isolation of the image in some of the Ajaṇṭâ caves, and in a more marked form in the shrine of Cave XVI. there. See *Cave Temples,* pl. xxxiii.

The front pillars only have any carving upon them, all the rest inside being plain square shafts. One of these pillars in the upper storey is represented on plate xxi, fig. 1, and the shaft of the pilaster in the north end of the balcony in fig. 2, and a glance at them will show how strangely like Buddhist work they are. In the pilaster the little figure of Lakshmî in the lotus flower might readily be mistaken for a Bauddha one, and the dancing female and musicians below we have the exact counterpart of in the Aurangâbâd Buddhist shrine No. VII,[1] while the *gandharvas* and *gaṇa* are quite as common in the works of that sect as in those of the Brahmans.

The pillar (fig. 1) is at first sight still more strikingly Buddhist. The figure on the end of the bracket most closely resembles Buddha in the *bhûmisparśa mudrâ*, and the figures coming out of the mouths of *makaras* are what are found behind most figures of Buddha in the shrines. How this came here is difficult to surmise. On the lower part of the capital the sculptures are more Brahmanical: the *nâga*-like figure in the centre is Vishṇu, and the flying one below him is Garuḍa, while the Nâgas and their wives at each side are found also in other Vaishṇava sculptures.[2]

The stair lands in the north end of the front aisle, so there is no carving there; but in the end of the next cross aisle is the figure of Bhairava trampling on Kâlî, which forms one of the most terrible and expressive sculptures in these caves (see plate xxii, fig. 2). The next compartment or chapel has Śiva, eight-armed, dancing the dread *tâṇḍava* amid his followers (pl. xxi, fig. 4). At the end of the fourth aisle is an altar, but without any image now. The next contains Śiva, four-armed, seated with Pârvatî, two-armed, and supposed to be playing *chausar;* while below, or in front of the seat, is the Nandi or bull and the dwarf *gaṇa* frolicking about him. The sixth has the usual sculpture of Râvaṇa under Kailâsa, attempting to carry off Śiva and his consort, while the *gaṇa* are represented as expressing their contempt for the many-handed monster in the vilest way. The next two compartments, being on the back wall, do not appear in the section; the first of them contains Śiva springing from out of the *liṅga* to rescue his worshipper Mârkaṇḍêya from Yamadaitya, the messenger of death (plate xxiv, fig. 1)—a myth but rarely represented in Hindu sculpture, but which also occurs in the corridor behind Kailâsa, which is also represented on the same plate. The second compartment contains Śiva and his consort, with Nandi and attendants. The pillars in the front of the antechamber have struts, each carved with a pair of figures and foliage somewhat like those in the great cave at Bâdâmi,[3] but of much ruder workmanship. On the left side of the chamber is a very large figure of Gaṇeśa or Gaṇapati, the god of policy—a figure which, though in modern times so universal a favourite and so constantly represented, is but sparingly so in the earlier mythology of the caves. On the back wall, to the right of this last, is a goddess—perhaps Pârvatî—with a rosary in her hand, and musicians on each side. She sits on a lotus, and two figures below, among foliage, hold the stalk, as the Nâga figures do under the images of Buddha. The dwârapâlas of the shrine-door are four-armed, and have the *vajra*, snake, and club. The *śâḷuṅkha*, or altar round the *liṅga*, in the shrine, has been destroyed by the Muhammadans, but the *liṅga* has perhaps been left unmoved. Whether any valuables were found around its base is, of course, unknown.

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[1] *Reports*, vol. iii, plate liv, fig. 5, and p. 78.

[2] *E.g.*, in Bâdâmi Cave III. See *Reports*, vol. i, plate xx.

[3] *Archæol. Reports*, vol. i, pl. xxiv to xxx. Compare also *Cave Temples*, pl. xlv. fig. 2.

The other side of the cave is similarly sculptured. On the right of the shrine-door is Lakshmî, with four elephants pouring water on her. She is seated, similarly to the figure on the other side, on a lotus upheld by figures below, and holds a lotus and a custard-apple in her hands. Two four-armed attendants offer jars of water, and hold the *śankh*, *chakra*, and lotus. On the right end of the antechamber is a figure of Vishṇu, with his *triśula* and lotus, attended by a large bird, which eats from his right hand, and a dwarf stands at his left.

On the back wall is a figure of Śiva inside a great pillar or *liṅga*, from the sides of which issue flames (plate xxi, fig. 3). On the right hand Vishṇu is represented worshipping it, and again as Varâha digging down to try and find the bottom of it. On the other side is Brahma worshipping, and also flying up to try to discover its summit. The legend here referred to is well known among the Lingayats. The next compartment contains Śiva also, represented in a chariot with shield, sword, and bow, while Brahma drives the four horses (the *Vedas*) yoked to it.

The south wall is devoted to Vishṇu, and the back compartment contains that god as Kṛishṇa with six arms, holding up Govardhan Hill above the flocks of Vraj. The next is the usual representation of Nârâyaṇa resting on Śêsha, who has here a human head, with seven seated figures below. The third is Vishṇu riding on Garuḍa. The fourth niche contains a *vêdi* or pedestal for an image; the fifth has Varâha bearing Prithvî; the sixth is the Trivikrama or Vâmana avatâra, represented as at Bâdâmi; and the seventh is Narasiṁha wrestling with Hiraṇyakaśipu (plate xxii, fig. 1), who is armed with sword and shield. Outside the cave on the wall is a gigantic Śaiva dwârapala, with long curly locks, and two cherubs above.

The maṇḍap in the front of the court is about 31 feet wide by 26 feet deep and $10\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, the roof being supported by four square pillars with plain square brackets and moulded bases. It had a porch, in front of a perforated window, on the west side, supported by two pillars in front, but the right-hand or south pillar, with most of the roof, is broken away. Over this window are the remains of an inscription in fourteen long lines, containing twenty-nine and a half verses, now much abraded, but which has been partially deciphered by Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl Indraji,[1] and from which is made out a genealogy of the Râshṭrakuṭa dynasty, which ruled over the Dekhan from about A.D. 600 till towards the end of the tenth century.[2] The names here enumerated are:—

1. Dantivarmâ I. (cir. A.D. 600–630).
2. Indrarâja I., his son (630–650).
3. Govindarâja I., son of Indrarâja (650–675).
4. Karkarâja I. (or Kakka), son of Govinda (675–700).
5. Indrarâja II., son of Karka (700–730).
6. Dantidurga (or Dantivarmâ II.) Khaḍgâvalôka, son of Indra II., A.D. 753,[3] who overcame Vallabha, or the Western Chalukya king, Kirttivarmâ II.

Nothing is made out respecting the construction of the temple, but the inscription may be taken as proving that it was finished, or at least in an advanced condition, when Dantidurga visited Elurâ in the middle of the eighth century; and it is not improbable that he had

[1] *Cave Temple Inscriptions* (Bombay, 1881), p. 92; see also below, p. 59.

[2] Vide *ante*, vol. iii, pp. 31–33; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. vi, pp. 59–72; vol. i, p. 205; vol. v, p. 144; and vol. xi, p. 108; *Jour. A. S. Beng.*, vol. viii, p. 292; Fleet's *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, sect. v.

[3] This is the date of the Sâmangaḍh grant, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xi, p. 110.

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constructed it. The inscription breaks off, however, in the 30th verse, and has never been finished. Moreover, in an inscription of Krishṇarâja, the uncle and successor of Dantidurga, he is said to have established himself at the hill or hill-fort of Elâpûra, where was a splendid temple of Svayambhu Śiva.[1] May not this Elâpûra have been Elurâ? There was a Hindu city on the hill, of which extensive remains are yet to be seen.

On the north and south sides of the maṇḍap are also perforated windows, and the door faces the cave. On the flat roof are tigers or lions at the corners, and three human or mythological figures between on each side. The door is in the style usual in the caves, with a plain architrave, and very small pairs of figures of gods and animals in the miniature representations of temples on the lintel. On each jamb of the door is a female figure with a small umbrella over the headdress, and a *chauri* on each side the head. On the corner pilasters are pairs of figures in embrace; and on the spaces between, in separate compartments, on each side, are one larger and two smaller male figures. On the north end are one male and three female figures on the four pilasters, and females in the larger intervening panels and in one of the smaller. On the north side is a curious *toraṇa* over the window; the corresponding one on the south side is empty. On the west side there are females on the corner pilasters only, and their hair is done up in the same style as in the figures in the temple of Virûpâksha at Paṭṭadakal; two of the smaller panels are empty, and males fill two larger and two smaller ones.

In a small room on the left of the entrance to the court, Brahmâ and Vishṇu with a Dêvî occupy the left wall, and Gaṇapati the right. Inside is a shrine, which has never been finished, containing a round *śâluṅkha* bearing a *liṅga*, and behind it on the wall is a Trimurti. This excavation is of a very rude character, and probably belongs to a later age than the cave.

Kailâsa or Rang Mahâl.

This Rock-Temple, strictly so called, is No. XVII. of the series as reckoned from the south, and has been pretty fully described in *The Cave Temples*, pp. 448 to 463, and illustrated in the six plates lxxx to lxxxiv. It was there shown that the resemblances both in plan and details between this and the temple of Virûpâksha at Paṭṭadakal,[2] which was erected by the queen-consort of Vikramâditya II., of the Western Chalukya dynasty, about A.D. 730,[3] give us strong confirmation to the conclusion, which is also supported by a fragment of an inscription found upon it, and other corroborative circumstances, that it was constructed in the reign of Dantidurga, the great Râthoḍ king (cir. A.D. 730–755).

It is by far the most extensive and elaborate rock-cut temple in India, and the most interesting as well as the most magnificent of all the architectural objects which that country possesses. It is therefore well worthy, not only of the few additional illustrations which this volume contains, but of even a much more complete series of drawings than the means at our disposal will allow.

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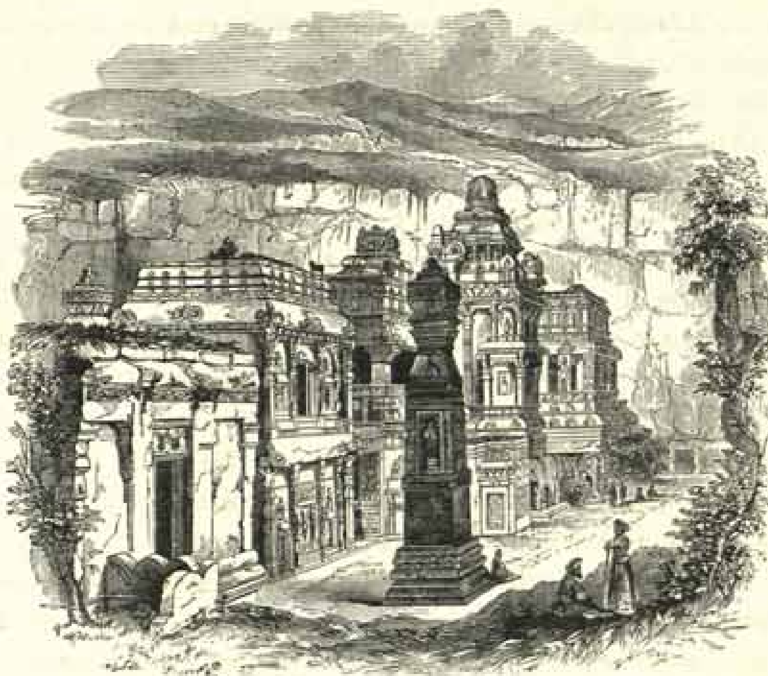
[1] *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. viii, pp. 295, 301; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. vi, p. 61. Al Mas'ûdî (cir. 940 A.D.) mentioned the caves probably under the name of *Alura* (B. de Meynard's transl., tome iv, p. 95; and *Cave Temples*, p. 367). The statement of the *Mâhâtmya* that the caves from Kailâsa to the Bauddha Caves were constructed by Ilurâja of Ilichpur (*As. Res.*, vol. vi, p. 385) is, of course, of no authority, but it may have arisen from some tradition of this râja of Elâpûra. Other forms of it say that Ilu or Ilarâja only cleaned and painted the caves about A.D. 900. See *Cave Temples*, p. 455 note.

[2] Described in the first *Archæological Report*, pp. 29–33, and plates xxxviii, xxxix, xl.

[3] Conf. inscriptions from the temple, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. x, pp. 164–166; and *Arch. Sur. Reports*, vol. iii, pp. 125, 126.

In *The Cave Temples* are given plans of both storeys (plates lxxxi and lxxxi A) and the elevation of the south side of the temple itself. To these are now added in this volume plates iv, xxiii, fig. 1, and xxv to xxxi.

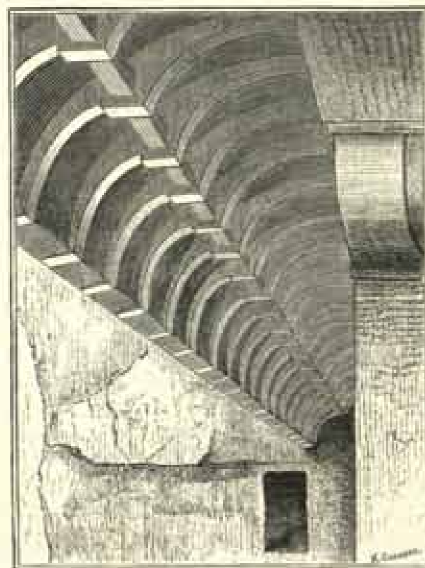
Plate xxiii, fig. 1, is a transverse section, on the same scale (20 feet to 1 inch) as the elevation (*Cave Temples*, pl. lxxxii), through the centre of the great hall, and continued north and south through the side excavations. This, together with the views in the frontispiece and the woodcut No. 13, will give a clear idea how the central fane is raised on a solid basement of rock about 27 feet high. Along the court, on each side, are seen the pillars of the colonnade and under the scarp of the rock on the east. On the north or left side, the section passes through a wider part of the colonnade below,[1] and through the hall of the Lankêśvara temple above, looking towards the door of its shrine, with its river goddesses on each side.



No. 13.—View of Kailâsa from the south-west.[2]

On the right side of the great temple, it will be observed that the rock has been excavated in four storeys, none of them ever quite finished. On this side there was a bridge from the south balcony of the great hall into the second storey, but it had been cut too thin for the rock to support so long a bearing, and had broken down. These halls on the south side are not carved with much sculpture, except the one containing the female mâtris or demons,[3] to the south-west of the central hall, and through which this section does not pass.

The fronts of the second and third storeys are protected above by handsome drips carved in the rock, quadrantal on the outer surface, and the under side carved in imitation of ribs, with a bearing rafter running horizontally through them, in the most perfect imitation of a carefully-jointed wooden construction. As may be seen from the accompanying woodcut (No. 14), the effect of this is very pleasing.



No. 14.—Eaves of the Second Storey on the south side of Kailâsa.

[1] Marked M on the plan, *Cave Temples*, pl. lxxxi.

[2] From a sketch by Dr. Jas. Fergusson, *Ind. and East. Arch.*, p. 335.

[3] Marked E' on the plan, *Cave Temples*, pl. lxxxi A.

In the third storey, the four pillars which support the roof are connected by a sort of arches, and the roof of the area within the pillars is considerably raised by a deep cornice. A square area is left in the centre of the roof, opening into the small room above, and just filling the area between the four pillars in it, similar to opening in the roof of the rock excavation in the Uparkot at Junâgaḍh.[1] The fourth storey has an opening from the outside on the top of the rock, where there is some carving on the surface, near to the highroad.

The Hall, &c.

Among the details worth noting are the windows and panels of the great maṇḍapa or hall. There are six windows, two in front and two on each side, of which the one on the south-east is very much broken; the other five are represented in plate iv, figs. 1–5, of which figs. 1 and 2 are those in front, figs. 3 and 4 on the north side, and fig. 5 the remaining window on the south. Three of them are arabesques, of very rich but entirely different designs, and the other two are formed of a combination of animal and vegetable designs:[2] then the spaces left uncarved are pierced through to admit the light. They may seem scarcely adequate for the purpose for which they were intended, but as light also enters from the five doors, these admit sufficient additional light to dispel the darkness in the corners of the hall, as far as is really necessary in an Indian temple.

Among the sculptures may be noticed two representations of a favourite subject in the Brahmanical works of the eighth century—the destruction of Mahishâsura[3] or the buffalo-headed demon, by Chaṇḍî or Durgâ, an event commemorated in the festival of the Durgâ-pujâ or Daśarâ, in the month of Aśvin (Sept.-Oct.)[4] Fig. 6 is the representation on a panel on the outside of the north wall of the great maṇḍapa to the west of the balcony. Mahishâsura is here and in fig. 7 represented with a human body, as he is also in the large and spirited sculpture in the Yamapuri or Mahishamardinî cave at Mahâvallipur,[5] and differs chiefly in his not having the high *mukuṭa* or regal cap which he wears in the latter. In later sculptures he is almost always represented with the body of a buffalo[6] and a man's head, or with a man's head coming out of the throat of a buffalo from which the goddess has cut off the head. In the Râvaṇa-ka-Khâî the scene is represented on the left of the entrance, but there the demon is in the form of a buffalo which she has seized with one hand by the mouth, while with another she drives her *triśula* into him, and with another right hand holds a long sword. In both these sculptures he wears a rich necklace, and in the first has a heavy sword or bill in his hand. Her tiger, from which she has dismounted, has seized by the head one of the Asuras behind her. In fig. 7, which represents the large sculpture on the side of the porch by which the court is entered, and on its north wall, we find more accessories: the goddess Mahishamardinî is mounted, but not astride, on

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[1] *Archæol. Reports*, vol. ii, pl. xxi to xxiii.

[2] In the temple of Virûpâksha, at Paṭṭadakal, which so closely resembles the Kailâsa in plan and details, the windows are of similar device.

[3] He is identical with the Siṁhamukhâsura of the Tâmiḷ districts.

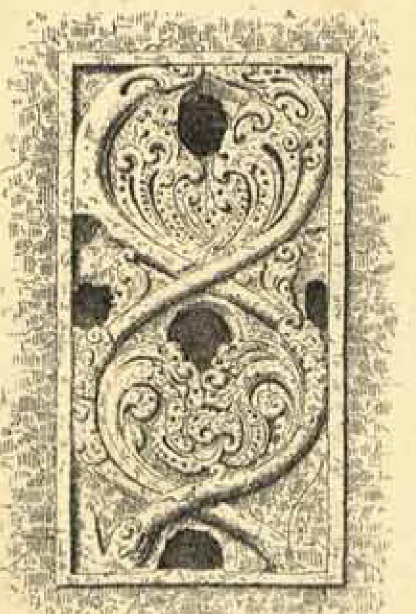
[4] The *Chaṇḍîpaṭha*, an episode from the *Mârkaṇḍêya Purâṇa* celebrating her victories over the Asuras, is read daily in her temples.

[5] *Cave Temples*, pp. 145–147. This cave is No. 32 in Carr's *Seven Pagodas*, pp. 7, 32, 49, 96, 149, 208, and *Trans. R. As. Soc.*, vol. ii, p. 261.

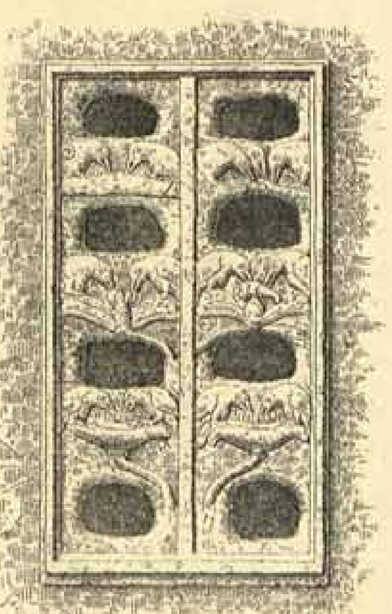
[6] At Bâdâmi there is a sculpture in a small cell off Cave I., in which he is also represented simply as a buffalo, *Arch. Sur. Reports*, vol. i, p. 16, and plate xix, fig. 1; *Cave Temples*, p. 404.

ELURA.-KAILASA.

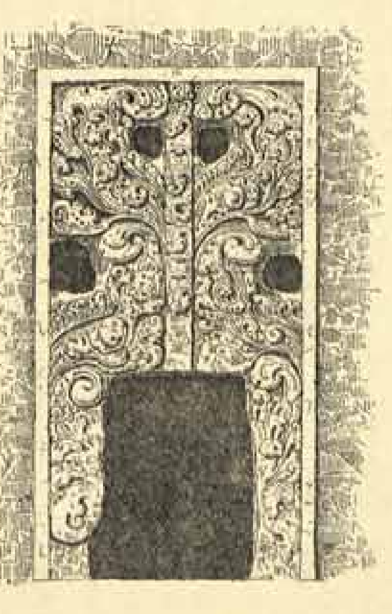
FIG 1.



2.



3.



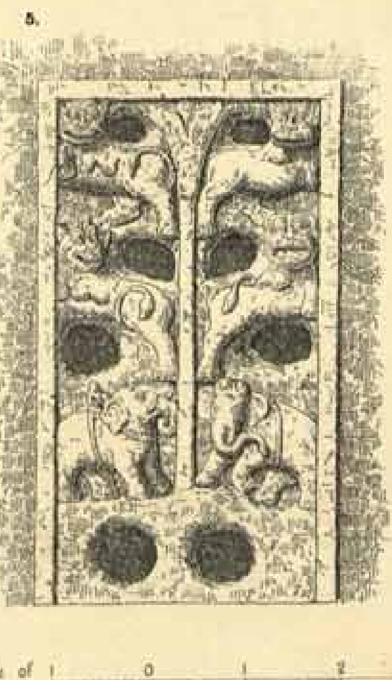
7.



4.



5.



6.



Scale of 1 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 Feet.

J. Burgess.

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her lion, as at the Seven Pagodas near Madras, and is trampling down the Asura's assistants, while she attacks him with her arrows, several of which have pierced his right arm, with which he wields a heavy club. His left hand and shield are broken away. Above are the Dêvas and Maharshis rejoicing over the victory; among the former of whom may be recognised Indra on his elephant, Agni on the ram, Yama on the buffalo with mace and noose, Vishṇu on Garuḍa; the fourth and the last in the upper row are probably Śâni or Saturn and Varuna, and below the latter is Śiva on Nandi. The remainder of the lower line consists of other superhuman beings, Ṛishis, Gandharvas, and Apsaras. Below the panel are some other figures, too much abraded to be identified.

On the right or south side of the entrance into the court, in a panel with a pediment over it, is another representation of this scene, in which the Asura is represented between the body and the head of the buffalo.

On the front of the maṇḍapa, to the north of the entrance, is a panel about 6½ feet by 5 (plate xxvi, fig. 1), in which we easily recognise Śiva, four-armed, and standing on the back of a kneeling figure, with Umâ or Pârvatî at his left side; he holds with one of his right hands what seems to be a long lock of hair, or else a cord coming out of the top of his head-dress, and at the same time apparently supports a Nâga-like female, perhaps intended for Gaṅgâ, the widening tail representing the stream in its descent. Lower it reaches an ascetic Jahnu, and (being drunk up by him) it again issues from his ear and descends among rocks, and is visited by an elephant and a goat. Beneath are seven half figures, possibly the Sapta-sindhava. The ascetic above standing on one leg may perhaps represent Bhagiratha, who by his asceticism prevailed on Śiva to bring down the Viyad-Gaṅgâ[1] to the earth.

Two other panels are represented in plate xxv, figs. 2 and 3,—the first, from the east side of the south porch, and the other from the west side of the same. The first is doubtless intended to represent some scene from the *Râmâyana*, and the two men in the lower right corner may be Râma and Lakshmaṇa. In the other a divinity is carrying off a chariot and its rider while a bird is pecking at him.

The Corridor in the Court.

The corridor round the back of the temple, extending across the end of the court and nearly 120 feet along the south and north sides, contains quite a pantheon itself, the back wall being divided by pilasters into a series of large panels, each filled with a separate sculpture. The corridor at the east end of the south side measures 118 feet in length, and contains twelve of these panels, containing the following sculptures:—(1) Perhaps Annapûrṇa, a form of Durgâ, with four arms, holding a pot, a rosary, a spike or bud, and with her hair in the jaṭâ or ascetic style; it may possibly, however, be a form of Lakshmî. (2) The next is known as Balaji, a form of Śiva who slew Indrajit or Meghanâda, the son of Râvaṇa. One version of the *Râmâyaṇa* ascribes this feat to Lakshmaṇa, and this figure, like Vishṇu, is four-armed, with club, *chakra* or discus, *śaṅkh* or conch; and a suppliant and small female figure appear in front of his club. (3) Vishṇu as Kṛishṇa, four-armed, with the *śaṅkh* and sword, having his foot on the throat of the serpent Kâliya, and holding it

[1] A representation of the descent of the Ganges and Jamnâ is found at Udayagiri in Bhopâl. See Cunningham's *Arch. Survey Reports*, vol. x, p. 48, and plate xviii.

by the tail.[1] (4) Varâha, the boar incarnation of Vishṇu raising Pṛithvî, the earth-goddess; he is four-armed, with *chakra* and *śaṅkh*, and has the Nâga or snake under his foot. (5) A four-armed Vishṇu on Garuḍa, the winged man who carries him. (6) Trivikrama or Vâmana, the dwarf avâtara of Vishṇu, somewhat like the representation of the same subject in the Dâs Avatâra Cave, and in the second and third caves at Bâdâmi, and at Mahavallipuram;[2] he is represented with six arms, holding a long sword, club, shield, discus, and conch, with his foot uplifted over the head of Bali holding his pot. (7) A four-armed Vishṇu as Kṛishṇa, upholding the lintel of the compartment, intended to represent the base of the hill Govardhana held up over the flocks of Vraj.[3] (8) Śesha Nârâyaṇa, or Vishṇu, reclining on the great snake,[4] with a lotus springing from his navel, on which is Brahmâ. Five fat little figures are carved below. (9) Narasiṁha, or the lion avatâra of Vishṇu, tearing out the entrails of Hiraṇyakaśipu. (10) A figure with three faces and four arms trying to tear up a *liṅga*. (11) Śiva, four-armed, attended by his vehicle, the bull Nandi; and (12) Arddhanârî, the androgynous personification of Śiva, four-armed, and attended by Nandi.

Following the nineteen sculptures[5] in the east corridor (189 feet in length) from south to north, we have—(1) Śiva, locally known as Kâla Bhairava, four-armed, with the *triśula*, and accompanied by a small figure of Pârvatî, whose hair is dressed in a peculiar style. (2) A god stepping out from lotuses, with a small figure of a goddess holding him by the finger. (3) Śiva, four-armed, with the *triśula*, beside Pârvatî, with one right hand on her head and the other on her breast. (4) Śiva, four-armed, with the *triśula* in one of the left hands, and gandharvas above and other attendants below. (5) Śiva dancing on a dwarf, with a long-shafted *triśula* in one of his left hands. (6) Chanda, or Śiva Dhûrjati, locally called Bhupâla Bhairava, with only a ribbon over his thighs, a *triśula* over his right shoulder, a begging-bowl in the left hand, and a *ḍamaru* or small drum in the right, with Pârvatî in front of him. (7) Śiva or Bhairava, four-armed as usual, holding a cobra, with Nandi on his right and Pârvatî on his left hand. (8) Śiva again, and Nandi. (9) Brahmâ, with his *haṅsa* or sacred goose, three-faced and four-armed, with the ascetic's water-pot (*kamaṇḍalu*) and rosary (*japa-mâlâ*). (10) Śiva, with a cobra, and Nandi. (11) Vishṇu, four-armed, with *śaṅkh* and lotus; also a worshipper with his hands clasped. (12) Śiva, holding the *triśula*, with Nandi and a worshipper. (13) Śiva, holding a snake and a lock of his hair, while the Ganges, perhaps, is represented as flowing from it and down the outside of his arm; Pârvatî is at his left side, and an elephant[6] at his right. Above is a figure like Brahmâ, but only one face is now distinct, and overhead is a *gandharva* or *vidyâdhara*. (14) Śiva in a *liṅga*, with Brahmâ and Varâha.[7] (15) Perhaps Śiva, with four arms, *ḍamaru*, club, and bell, but no third eye. (16) Śiva and Pârvatî sitting

[1] For the legend, see *Harivaṁsa*, § 68.

[2] See *Archæol. Report*, vol. i, pl. xxiii, fig. 1, and pl. xxxi; *Cave Temples*, p. 150; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. vi, p. 356 and plate, fig. 4.

[3] *Harivaṁsa*, § 74; Growse's *Mathura*, p. 58.

[4] Similar figures are found in the Undavalli Cave, in the Yamapuri Cave at Mahavallipuram, and in the Dâs Avatâra Cave (*Cave Temples*, pp. 101, 146, 438).

[5] This supersedes the lists given in *Cave Temples*, p. 412. Sir Charles Mallet must have followed the information of the ignorant native guides.

[6] Gajâsura?

[7] Compare the sculpture in the Dâs Avatâra Cave (*Cave Temples*, p. 437), and for the legend see *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, vol. ix, p. 91; or H. H. Wilson's *Works*, vol. ii, p. 211; my *Elephanta*, § 56, n. 10; also the *Channabasava Purâṇa* in *J. Bom. B. R. A. Soc.*, vol. viii, p. 142.

together, and Nandi below. (17) Śiva or Sadâśiva, with six arms, going to war against Tripurâsura or Târaka: Brahmâ drives him, armed with *triśula*, club, bow, and quiver, in the sun's chariot, with the four *Vedas* as his horses, and Nandi is represented on the top of the club. (18) Virabhadra, six-armed, holding up his victim Ratnâsura, with *ḍamaru*, bowl, and *triśula*, and accompanied by Pârvatî, Kâlî, a goblin and vampire. Every drop, says the myth, of Ratnâsura's blood that fell on the ground produced another Asura like himself. (19) Śiva, with Pârvatî at his left side, and laying his hand on one of hers, while he has a flower in another, and Bhṛingi, his skeleton attendant, waits below.

Turning into the north corridor, which is 120 feet long and has twelve sculptures, we have—(1) Śiva springing from the *liṅga* to protect Mârkaṇḍêya from Yama, the god of death (plate xxiv, fig. 2). (2) Śiva and two worshippers, one of them a huntsman with a bow (plate xxvii, fig. 1). (3) Śiva and Pârvatî, the latter with a very large chignon, playing at *chausar;* below are Nandi and eleven *gaṇa* (fig. 2). Śiva and Pârvatî sitting together; Nârada below is apparently playing some wind instrument. (5) Śiva and Pârvatî above the latter, with her arm entwined in Śiva's; Râvaṇa has been begun below but never completed. (6) A human figure called Ṛishi Muchhukunda, with two arms, and a bag on his left shoulder. (7) Śiva and Pârvatî seated facing one another, as if he were speaking to her; nothing below. (8) Śiva, four-armed, with snake and rosary, and Nandi on the right. (9) Śiva and Pârvatî seated, and Nandi couched below (fig. 3). (10) The same pair, with a *liṅga* altar between them, and Nandi couchant below. (11) Śiva with Pârvatî on his left knee, and a seated and a standing figure below. (12) A *liṅga* with nine heads round it, and a kneeling figure of Râvaṇa upholding the *vêdi* in which it is, and cutting off his tenth head in devotion to Śiva.

PILLARS.

Of the pillars in Kailâsa, some specimens were given in the *Cave Temples* (plate lxxxiv); we here add some further examples. In plate xxviii, fig. 1, is another pillar from the great maṇḍapa, while fig. 2 is one of the pilasters from the side walls. Fig. 3 is an example from the lower storey, under Lankeśvara, from the apartment (*M*) in the north side of the court (*Cave Temples*, plate lxxxi). Above a moulded base the lower half of the square shaft on the side facing the court is carved, below with three capering *gaṇas* in *basso-rilievo* in small ornamented panels, and above in a central panel a human figure standing with a *triśula* in his right hand; the border of this panel, the edges of the pillar opposite to it, and a pretty broad band above it are carved with much care and considerable taste. An extended plain bracket surmounts the shaft under the architrave above.

LANKÊŚVARA.

On plate xxix, fig. 1, is given one of the four pillars that surround the central area in the Lankêśvara.[1] These massive piers, with the short shafts square to about half their height, and bold capitals and brackets, produce an almost Egyptian effect of solidity and grandeur, unlike anything else even in the cave architecture of India. The floor of the central area in this hall is somewhat raised above the surrounding aisles, but the roof is correspondingly elevated by a double architrave surrounding it, and shown in section above the pillar, and also in plate xxiii, fig. 1.

[1] One of the outer range is given in the *Cave Temples*, plate lxxxiv, fig. 4.

The sculptures in Laṅkêśvara have been executed with great care and minute detail, but most of them have been very much injured by Muhammadan ignorance. The figure of Śiva dancing the *Tâṇḍava* in the end of the front aisle has often attracted attention,[1] and is represented in plate xxix, fig. 2, where the elaborate headdress in which is fixed a skull and the crescent moon, the necklace, armlets, and jewelled belts may be studied. He is represented with six arms, of which the right front one, which was probably bent forwards, the back one bent downwards and forwards, and the front left one are all broken off, as is the whole of the left leg and the lower half of the right one, which appears to have been twisted quite round.

On the back wall is a series of the principal great gods of the pantheon in six sculptures, of which three are represented in plate xxx. Fig. 1 represents Sûrya or the sun-god at the east end of the wall with his two wives[2] and two male attendants, his sons, the Aświns. He holds two lotuses growing out of his hands, wears a diadem, and necklace hanging down, with earrings and a girdle (*viyaṅga*),[3] but it can hardly be said that in this case he is "clad in the dress of the Northerners, so as to be covered from the feet upwards to the bosom," as in Varâha Mihira's directions for making his image.[4]

Fig. 2 represents Umâ or Pârvatî, the consort of Śiva, four-armed, and performing *tapas* or ascetic penance between two fires, while holding up a *liṅga*—the symbol of Śiva—in one right hand, and an image of Gaṇêśa, his reputed son and chief of his followers, in one of the left hands. There are traces under her feet of a crocodile, which being the emblem of Gaṅgâ, may also be used by Umâ.

In the middle compartment on this wall (fig. 3) are the three Dii Majores of the Brahmans—Brahmâ, Śiva, and Vishṇu—each four-armed, but damaged in their hands, which probably held the usual symbols borne by each god. Brahmâ is represented with three faces—the fourth is supposed to be behind the central front one. His consort, Sarasvatî, the goddess of learning, is one of the figures beside him, and his *vâhana* or vehicle, the *haṅsa*-swan or goose, is on his left. The central figure is Śiva holding up his *triśula*, called Pinâka, and a snake, with Nandi by his side and an attendant. The third is Vishṇu, with the discus and a great club, attended by a male and a female. An injured figure of Varâha—the Boar avatâra of Vishṇu—on this same wall is represented on plate xxix, fig. 3, with his left foot on the heads of a pair of Nâgas.

The Chapels, Śikhara, &c.

It should be noted that while in Râvaṇa-kâ-khâî, Râmêśvara, Dumâr Lena, and other cave temples, there is a clear passage for *pradakshiṇâ* or circumambulation of the shrine,

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[1] The figure of Śiva from this panel was drawn by Capt. R. N. Grindlay for the Hon. Lady Hood in 1813, and afterwards published in 1828 in the *Trans. R. Asiat. Soc.*, vol. ii, p. 326, but like his other drawings made at Elurâ, he gives the figure quite an artistic finish of a high order.

[2] A figure of Sûrya and his two wives appears in one of the tympana of the Ânanta Cave on the Khandagiri hill in Orissa, not represented in the photographs from the casts in *Cave Temples*, pl. i and p. 72. It is over the left door, and is specially interesting from its close resemblance to the sculpture in the small very early Vihâra at Bhâjâ (*Cave Temples*, pl. xcviii and pp. 515, 522; *Reports*, vol. iv, p. 6 and pl. vi, fig. 1, and vol. ii, p. 215, and pl. lxv; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. ix. p. 116). When not in his chariot, Sûrya is frequently attended by two armed males as well as by his wives.

[3] Or *aviyaṅga*, from the Baktrian and Zend *aiwyâoṅhanem*, equivalent to the Pârsî *kustî*.—Haug's *Essays*, West's ed., pp. 286, 396.

[4] *Bṛihat Saṁhitâ*, lviii, 46.

in the Kailâsa this is provided for by the doors in the east wall leading on to the terrace on which are also five small shrines, with but little carving on their walls beyond the *dwârapâlas* at the doors, which, in the case of the one on the north side, are females, with a pair of figures kissing on each side. In all of them, except that on the south side, there are altars for images; in that one there is a bench round the back and ends, and it was probably devoted to the Mâtṛis, which would be arranged along the back of it as in the Yajña śâlâ on the south side of the court,[1] with Skanda or Śiva in the left end, and Gaṇêśa and the skeleton figure on the right. The two at the corners would probably be devoted to Chanda and Rudra or Bhairava—both terrific forms of Śiva—the former represented as nude, having Śiva's third eye in his forehead, with two or four arms holding the *triśula* and a jug or *ḍamaru*, and his hair wound up in the *jaṭâ* style. To him the refuse of the offerings were thrown. On the east side was the shrine of Pârvatî, the *śaktî* of Śiva.[2] The *dwârapâlas* of this shrine are armed with swords. It is doubtful to whom we ought to assign the fifth shrine on the north side opposite to the *Sômasûtra* or outlet for the water from the *liṅga* inside the temple,—possibly it was dedicated to Sûrya or Nârâyaṇa.[3] In an advanced recess in the corner of the temple facing this is an image of Gaṇapati or Vinâyaka, the eldest son of Śiva; and on the façade above it is a figure in *alto-rilievo* with its face to the wall. The image in the corresponding recess on the south-west of the temple is perhaps meant for Vishṇu.

The base of the *śikhara* itself is carved in panels, six on each side, and five on the back, containing various forms of Śiva, such as Chanda, Ardhanâriśvara, &c., Durgâ and Vishṇu, standing on fat dwarf figures (perhaps Asuras), and with other attendants. At the upper corners of the panels are conventionalised figures of peacocks with long tails; and above the panel is usually a Dêvî seated cross-legged. Two of these compartments are represented in figs. 1 and 2 of plate xxxi, the first being the second panel from the door of the maṇḍapa on the south side, and the other the sixth. The slightest examination of these two drawings will serve to convince any one of the exceeding richness and beauty of the foliage over the panels, and of the great variety of floral ornamentation on the side pilasters. And these are only two out of seventeen, all carved in similar style, and all varying in details.

Fig. 3 represents a similar panel on the south side of the basement of the Nandi porch, just in front of the great temple. It has contained a representation of Narasiṁha struggling with Hiraṇyakaśipu; but being more exposed, has been much injured. The compartment is surrounded by carved pilasters and a frieze, round which are numerous figures looking on at the struggle.

On the roofs of the Gôpuram in front, of the Nandi-maṇḍapa before the temple, and of the great hall itself, figures of lions and fat dwarfs are placed. Two of these lions from the roof of the great hall are represented on plate xxvi, figs. 3 and 4. They stand about 4 feet high, and are executed in the same bold style as the similar figures of lions and elephants round the base of the temple.

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1 Marked E′ on the plan, *Cave Temples*, plate lxxxi A.

2 See *Ind. Ant.*, vol. ix, p. 119 note, and p. 119.

3 The temple of Govindêśvara at Sinnar, twenty miles south from Nâsik, is arranged thus:—The great central temple dedicated to Śiva faces the east; in front of it is the Nandimaṇḍapa; in the S.E. corner of the surrounding court is the shrine of Vishṇu; in the N.E. that of Sûrya; in the N.W. of Mahishamardinî or Jagadambâ; and in the S.W. of Gaṇapati.

Over the gôpuram were fat dwarf figures represented as blowing *śaṅkhs*. But as they had been carved separately, most of them have been thrown down and destroyed. One is represented in the woodcut No. 15. Similar figures are also carved on the roof of the maṇḍapa in the court of the Das Avatâra cave, and on the roof of the second storey of the Undavalli cave near Bezwâḍâ.[1]



No. 15.—Dwarf Figure from the roof of the gôpuram of Kailâsa.

SHRINE OF THE RIVER GODDESSES.

In the north side of the court, behind the elephant, is a shrine about 23½ feet long by 9 feet deep and 11 high, with two free-standing pillars in front (one of them broken) and two in antis (woodcut No. 16). They have moulded bases, 16-sided shafts, and massive capitals with a double bracket above. The floor is about 5 feet above the level of the court, and is approached by five steps, with an elephant's head and front feet on each side of them, and the rest of the front of the podium is divided into three panels on each side, containing small sculptures much abraded. At the ends also have been the heads, &c., of elephants, and the façade was terminated by gigantic *dwârapâlas* with several arms, and wearing high *mukuṭas* or tiaras. The back wall of this shrine is divided by half pillars into three large panels, with slender colonnettes on each side carrying *makaras*, and richly carved *tôraṇas* above, each containing a tall figure of a goddess in almost entire relief, symmetrically arranged, and which have been carved with unusual care, and though anything but classical in their proportions, they are about the best here, but have been much abused. The central one, which is perfectly erect, stands on a *makara*, with lotus leaves and flowers behind her, and may therefore be supposed to represent Gaṅgâ; the other two lean slightly towards her,—the one on the left standing on a lotus flower, with creeping plants and birds among their leaves, and that to the right



No. 16.—Shrine of the River Goddesses, from a photograph.

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[1] *Cave Temples*, p. 102.

on a tortoise (*kurma*), with creepers and water plants behind,—the two representing the river goddesses Sarasvatî and Yamî or Yamunâ respectively.[1]

The frieze of the façade of this chapel has been divided into seven panels; in the central one are three figures, and in each of the others a male and female seated together. These may have had some connection with the seven river goddesses of mythology, but they are too much abraded to make out who they are. Over these are some mouldings, and above, in front of a quite unfinished cave, is a low rail carved with water-jars, separated by two little colonnettes. A part of this rail, cut away in the centre, seems to indicate that it was approached by a ladder.

Screen in front of the Court.

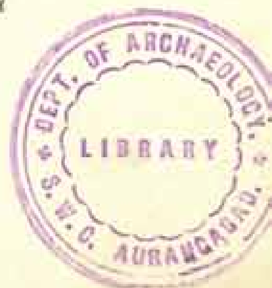
The screen and front of the *gopuram* or entrance gate to the court is also covered with mythological sculptures in recessed panels, and the outer side of the screen is crowned by a crenellated parapet. Each crenellation is carved with three bells, and below them is a string of small figures in high relief on foot, on horseback, in carts, fighting, &c.

Commencing from the north, the large panels in order are—(1) one never advanced beyond two slight incisions in the rock; (2) the next contained a large figure of some form of Śiva with ten arms, holding up what somewhat resembles a bowl, with flames rising out of it—all below the waist of the figure is destroyed; (3) a tall three-faced figure, probably Brahmâ. Turning a corner, on a portion of the wall facing south, are three panels; (4) containing a tall *liñga*, as in the Dâś-avatâra Cave, with a triple Śiva looking out of it; Brahmâ is represented ascending on the left side, and also standing lower down; Vishṇu is on the right side, and a four-armed figure over his head, with a gandharva still higher, but the Varâha below and the base of the *liñga* have been destroyed; (5) a tall four-armed *dêva*, with something like a *chakra* in the left hand, and a bull's head to the left; (6) another tall four-armed figure, but all insignia are gone. The line of wall again turns to the south, and (7) the first compartment is a large deep recess over a drain from the court, but it is so rotted away that it is impossible to say whether it contained any sculpture; (8) the next seems to contain Kârttikêya or Skanda, the war-god, the Hindu Mars, and second son of Śiva, born to destroy Târaka, an Asura who became dangerous to the gods.[2] He is represented two-armed, riding on his peacock Paravâṇi, with an arrow or sceptre in the right, and perhaps a bird in the left hand: the lower portion of the panel is destroyed. (9) A two-armed figure on a ram-headed animal with a mane—perhaps Agni, the god of fire and regent of the south-east; (10) a similar figure on a deer, and may therefore be Varuṇa, the Hindu Uranus, the regent of the west; (11) another on a *makara*, with a very large head. This may be Nirṛiti, the regent of the south-west.

Just behind the porch is (12) a Nâga figure with five hoods as a sort of dwârapâla,

[1] Like many other points in Hindu mythology, the number and names of the river goddesses is quite unsettled. In some of the classics they are called the Sapta-Sindhava, but for these even the *Mahâbhârata* gives two different enumerations. In the Peninsula they are often reckoned as (1) Yamunâ, (2) Sarasvatî, (3) Gaṅgâ, (4) Narmadâ, (5) Gôdâvarî, (6) Kâvêrî, and (7) Kanyâ; but in different districts one or more of the following—Sindhu, Śatudri (Satlaj), Gomatî, Kṛishṇâ, Tuṅgabhadrâ, Tâmraparnî, and Mannêrî—are added or substituted for others in this list. The first three—Yamunâ, Gaṅgâ, and Sarasvatî—however, seem to have been the favourites, and generally accepted.

[2] See Griffith's beautiful version of the first seven cantos of the *Kumâra-Sambhava* or *Birth of the War God* (Trübner, 1879).



having a lotus bud in the left hand. On the north side wall of the entrance is a Nâganî with one hood and a dwarf female attendant, and a *gandharva* over her right shoulder. (13) On the jamb of the porch is a tall female—a river goddess—standing on a *makara* as Gaṅgâ, and resting her arm on a smaller female. A fat *gandharva* figure with a large *chauri* is over her right shoulder; that over the left has been broken away, except the *chauri;* and below is another attendant figure. (14) On the other pilaster has been a similar sculpture. (15) On the south side of the pilaster and return of the wall are a Nâganî and a Nâga figure as on the other side, with large *chauri*, and one *gandharva* over her head and two over his bearing garlands. (16) Indra, the god of the firmament and regent of the east, on his elephant Airâvati, with Indrânî, Aindrî or Sachî behind, and above are gandharvas. This panel is much weatherworn. (17) Behind this a little, in a narrow compartment, is Yama the "Restrainer," the god of death, the Pluto or Minos of the Indian Pantheon and brother of Yamî, the regent of the south, mounted on a buffalo. (18) The next also contains a riding figure, but much abraded and indistinct—possibly Vâyu, the regent of the north-west, who should be mounted on a Bhûta or spirit. (19) Nothing is left in the next compartment, but it also was probably occupied by another of the eight Dikpâlas or regents[1]—Kuvêra or Îsâna.

Over the water drain is (20) a large figure of Varâha, with eight arms, and five *gandharvas* above; the figure of Pṛîthivî or Bhûmîdêvî is destroyed. Then, on the return of the wall facing north are three panels—(21) Vishṇu on Garuḍa; (22) an eight-armed Trivikrama as at Bâdâmi, but destroyed below; and (23) a figure in violent action. On the west face again are (24) Narasiṁha, the man-lion avatâra of Vishṇu, with long curls; and (25) an eight-armed figure in violent action, possibly Śiva in the Tâṇḍava dance, with Pârvatî at his right side.

To the south of this is a rock-cut cistern about 22 feet by 19.

On each side the entrance to the porch is a sitting figure with one foot up (*lalitâsana mudrâ*)—perhaps they had beards; and on the front of the inner jamb on each side is a female with umbrella and *chauri* overhead, and a small attendant. Passing through the Gopuram,[2] in which the two pillars on each side dividing the passage from the guard-rooms have been neatly carved, we find the jambs at the east end have fat figures on the front, one holding a *śaṅkh* and the other a bud, out of both which a long *toraṇa* or roll extends over their heads. Above are two *gandharvas*, and their seats are supported by lions. On the east faces of these jambs are gigantic four-armed Rudras with clubs, as dwârapâlas. In the inner porch of the gateway are two sculptures in panels with side pilasters and pediments; that on the south wall is the Mahishâsurî already referred to, and on the north side is a Gaṇeśa with female chauri-bearers.

On the outer side of the north wall of the porch is the large Mahishâsurî already described, and on the return wall of the court are—(1) A two-armed figure with high *mukuṭa*, and his right hand pressed against the upper corner of the compartment. (2) A male and female, supposed to be Kâma, Manmatha, or Makarakêtu (Eros, Cupid), and his wife Ratî or Rêvâ (Venus): these are represented on plate xxvi, fig. 2. (3) On the return of the wall is a single male figure. (4) A female with the hair gathered in a lump on her left shoulder. (5) A male and female with a slender palm-tree between them, the stem

[1] These figures appear in the roof of the verandah of the great cave of Bâdâmi also. See *Ind. Ant.*, vol. vi, p. 361 and plate.

[2] The apartment marked A on the plan, *Cave Temples*, pl. lxxxi.

notched. (6) Vishṇu mounted on Garuḍa. (7) Over the drain a figure sitting on a chair with another kneeling in front.

To the north of this is an unfinished cave in the screen, with four stout short pillars having thick compressed cushion-shaped capitals: one pillar is destroyed.

On the south side of the entrance porch, and partly on the west wall, is (1) a large sculpture of Śiva in the chariot of the sun, drawn by the four *Vedas* as horses, with Brahma as his charioteer, armed with the bow (Himâlaya) which he draws against an enemy. This sculpture is also found in the Dâś-avatâra cave. In front of him in several panels are groups of small figures; in one in front of the horses his enemies seem falling in confusion. (2) Behind this is a four-armed figure with a peculiar turban, and holding a large fruit in his hand. The next figures (3 to 6) are apparently Rudras in various attitudes. (7) Over the drain are—a small figure bending a bow with his feet; a larger one, apparently about to strike or push away a female; and some others; and (8), to the left, a male and female seated on a *siṁhâsana*. Next to this is an unfinished excavation in the south end of the screen, apparently intended for a small open room or shrine.

It is evident from the number of unfinished excavations, especially on the south side of the court, that for long after the great temple was finished, works were carried on at different points in the surrounding rock, adding shrines and images, until perhaps the inroads of the Muhammadans finally put a stop to them.

CHAPTER V.

ELURA BRAHMANICAL CAVES NORTH OF KAILÂSA.

Caves XVII. - XX.

Of the caves to the north of Kailâsa, except in one or two cases, not much need be added to what has been said in the *Cave Temples* (pp. 438–448). Across a deep ravine and watercourse, we reach Caves XVII., XVIII., and XIX., of which the first two are in close contact. No. XVII. is locally known as the "Chhôta," or small "Dumar Lena," though it has no resemblance to the larger cave passing under that name. The ground-plans of it and of No. XVIII. are given in plate xxxii, fig. 1, from which it will be seen that it had a low court in front with a corridor round it, now fallen in and ruined. Eight steps rise up to the porch (now also fallen) on the level of the hall, the front of which is supported by four pillars (see plate xxxiii, fig. 2), and the roof inside by eight heavy square ones of various patterns, one of which, from the back row, is represented in plate xxxiii, fig. 1. It has never been finished above, but the drawing shows how it was probably intended to complete it. These pillars may be compared with the pilasters in Râvaṇa-kâ-Khâî (*Cave Temples*, plate lxxi, fig. 1). The front and back aisles are fully 2 feet longer than the middle one, being 64 feet, and the depth of the hall is 37 feet. In the back wall are three doors, two opening into the *pradakshiṇâ* passage which surrounds the shrine,[1] and the central one into the shrine itself, which contains a large square altar and a decayed *liṅga*. The only sculptures on the walls are Mahishamardinî in the south end of the front

[1] Compare with this the plan of the temple of Pâpanâtha at Paṭṭadakal (*Arch. Sur. Rep.*, vol. i, plate xlvii).

aisle, four-armed, with *triśula* and sword, and holding by the nose the buffalo, which represents the Asura; Gaṇapati, also four-armed, is carved in the north end.

On the rock on the left side of the court, at the end of the façade, is a figure of Brahmâ with three faces, represented in plate xxxvi, fig. 1.

Cave XVIII., close to this, has an irregular-shaped court in front, in the middle of which is a shallow trough. The cave is raised above the level of the court, and has four unfinished pillars in front. The hall is 67 feet long by about 22½ deep, having a slightly raised platform inside. At the back is an antechamber 30 feet by 10½ feet, with two square pillars in front and corresponding pilasters, having low bases of two members. The shrine has no *pradakshiṇâ* path round it, and contains a round structural *vêdî* or altar—a modern form—and a *liṅga*.

Cave XIX. (plate xxxii, fig. 2) is a very irregular and much-decayed cave, with a wide entrance. The hall inside is 43 feet wide by about 32 feet deep, and the shrine is surrounded by a *pradakshiṇâ* passage.

Close to the next is a ruinous cave filled with earth and hidden by underwood. Cave XX. (fig. 3) is little more than a shrine, with a wide passage round it, or a hall 37 feet wide by 30 feet deep in the middle, of which a block has been left 20 feet by 16 hewn into a shrine, the front of which has been given in the *Cave Temples*, plate lxxviii, which shows the carving on the different members of the door mouldings, and the figures on each side so very analogous, even in details, to what are found in similar positions in the Bauddha caves, as may be seen by comparing it with the front of the shrine in Cave VI. (*Cave Temples*, plate lxi), that one is almost forced to allow that the one sect may have copied from the other. On a platform outside is a square base, either of a *dhvajastambha* or the remains of a pedestal for a Nandi. Lower down by 6 or 8 feet, and farther back, is another small platform.

Cave XXI.—Râmêśvara.

Close to the last is the cave No. XXI., known as Râmêśvara, which has been described in considerable detail in *The Cave Temples* (pp. 438 f., and plate lxxvi, fig. 1, and lxxvii). The plan, it will be remarked, is similar to that of Cave XVII, but without the pillars in the floor of the hall, and more closely resembling that of Cave XXVI. It has two columns in front of the shrine, with corresponding pilasters; one of the columns is represented in plate xxxiii, fig. 3. They are somewhat of the Elephanta type, but in place of the bracket is a deep square abacus, carved on the front and sides with figures. The lower half of the shaft is square, the upper portions of it being covered with bands of rich tracery. Over these is a deep octagonal member, with dwarfs on the corners; and the upper portion of the shaft is circular, with forty-nine very shallow or flat flutes. The side chapels have each a similar pair of columns in front, but standing on a raised platform, and with only a thin square abacus above.

The façade of the cave is shown in plate v. It has a low screen wall in front, now much rotted away from the accumulation of earth that long lay against it. Below was a moulded base to about the level of the floor inside. Above this is a string-course of animals, chiefly elephants. The face of the rail over this is divided into narrow panels by broad vertical bands of arabesques, each panel containing a standing male and female figure, and over this runs a coping of festooned carving. From this wall rise the pillars which support the roof, of which the lower portions of the shafts, partly embraced in the

Plate V.



RÂMÊŚVARA CAVE-TEMPLE AT ELURÂ.

wall, are square. Just above the screen is an octagonal member with dwarfs on the corners, then the shafts become circular, with flowered members and flutes. The capital has drooping ears and a square abacus, over which are long brackets, carved in front with human figures and animals, somewhat in the style of those in the later Ajaṇṭâ caves; but here there are added massive struts supporting the brackets, each consisting, as shown in the accompanying woodcut (No. 17), of a tall female figure standing under foliage, and attended by two small figures. Similar figures on a larger scale are carved at the ends of the façade, and there they are at once identifiable with the river goddesses, the one at the left end standing on a *makara*, the symbol of Gangâ.



No. 17.—Pillar in front of Râmêsvara, from a photograph.

Over a plain architrave is a frieze with sunk panels containing dwarf figures, divided by compartments carved in arabesque designs. On the whole, this has been the most richly carved façade of any of the Elurâ caves, or indeed of any Brahmanical cave in India.

It is in fact the architectural arrangements of this façade that constitute the principal interest in this cave; for besides its intrinsic beauty, its strongly marked characteristics point it out as the style of a well-defined but limited architectural epoch. It is reproduced with some changes in Cave III. at Bâdâmi, and to a certain extent in No. XX. at Ajaṇṭâ, while, as the Bâdâmi cave has a well-authenticated date of 579 A.D., we may feel certain that these Elurâ and Ajaṇṭâ caves were executed within a few years of that date—either before or after. Looking at the extreme elaboration of the Râmêśvara façade, it would appear to be subsequent to the Bâdâmi caves, but the difference can hardly be fifty years, and in the Ajaṇṭâ example it may be even less. We have thus a thread of chronology running through the dates of the principal series of caves of the utmost value for determining the relative ages, at least of the later examples of cave architecture.

In the chapel in the right end of the hall of this cave is carved one of the large groups of Saptamâtṛis found also in Râvaṇa kâ Khâî and in Cave XXII., in this case covering the three inner walls of the room, and of which the Mâtrîs on the back and the group on the right end wall are represented on plate xxxiv, fig. 1. The vâhaṇas on vehicles of the different mother goddesses that were carved below each are now almost entirely destroyed, but there is no difficulty in recognising them by their positions and the symbols they have in their hands. Gaṇapati sits at their head, and then in order from right to left they are—(1) Châmuṇḍâ, (2) Indrâṇî or Aindrî (having a *vajra* in her hand), (3) Varâhî, (4) Lakshmî or Vaishṇavî (with the *śankha* and *chakra*), (5) Kaumârî or Sênâ, (6) Mahêśvarî, and (7) Brâhmî or Sarasvatî. Each of them had a child (except, perhaps, Sarasvatî), but they are all more or less defaced. At the end sits Mahâdêva or Śiva, with Nandi below, and on the wall to the left is Śiva engaged in the *Tâṇḍava* dance, which he performs at the destruction of the world, with attendants. On the other end wall is the ghastly group represented to the right, in which Kâlî and Kâla—the goddess of destruction and her partner—are probably represented. The panel is much injured below.

A very similar group of the Mâtṛis is found in the south side of the next cave No. XXII., and is represented also on plate xxxiv, fig. 2. Here Châmuṇḍâ is represented in a ghastly skeleton form, while Varâhî, like her husband, has a boar's head, and Sarasvatî or Brâhmî has three heads and holds a bottle. On the right end wall are Kâla and Gaṇêśa, and on the left Śiva.

The high pedestal in front of the cave, on which a headless Nandi still couches, is carved on the sides with goddesses also and attendants.

Caves XXII.-XXVII.

Close to Râmêśvara, and somewhat advanced in front of it, is Cave XXII., known as Nîlakaṇṭha ("blue-throated"), a name of Śiva. The plan of this cave is given plate xxxii, fig. 4. It has a somewhat irregular court in front, about 42 feet each way, in the centre of which, on a high base, stands the Nandi maṇḍapa, now somewhat ruined. The plan somewhat resembles that of Cave XVIII., but with pillars introduced into the hall and in front of the side chapels. On the south side of the court is a low chapel containing the sculpture of the Mâtṛis referred to above, with a skeleton Bhringi or Kâla with two arms and outspread hair; Gaṇapati and the seven mothers—the last, Brahmî, with three faces and holding a bottle; and, lastly, Śiva. All the Mâtṛis and Śiva have four arms each. Among other sculptures in the vestibule to the shrine is the figure of Gaṅgâ represented in plate xxv, fig. 5.

The next two caves (Nos. XXIII. and XXIV.) are close to the last, and are rather a series of small shrines than cave temples. They are probably of later date than any of the larger ones. The ground-plan is given on plate ii, drawn to the same scale as the others, from which it will be observed that they are huddled together and contain six round *vêdîs*, and in one of the shrines in No. XXIII. is a *trimurti* on the back wall (figured in *Cave Temples*, plate lxxv, fig. 2). In Cave XXIV. is an injured figure of a River goddess represented on plate xxv, fig. 4.

From these last to Cave XXV., which is known by the names of Kumbârwâḍâ and Sûrêśvara, is about 70 yards. The plan is given on plate xxxv, fig. 3, which shows that, behind a hall about 90 feet long, of which the front has fallen away, is a smaller one, 57 feet wide by 23 feet deep and 13 feet 10 inches high, with four square free-standing pillars in front and two in antis. Inside are two others, with corresponding pilasters on the side walls; and in the back, separating it from the antechamber to the shrine, are two more free-standing pillars, with two in antis. These pillars have brackets, and on the front of each bracket a male and female flying figure. On plate xxxv, fig. 2, is a drawing of the side of one of these pillars, showing how the bracket is separated from the capital of the shaft by a neck narrower than the shaft itself, and illustrating at the same time the deterioration in style and taste which the proportions and details indicate.

On the roof of the antechamber is the figure of Sûrya, the sun-god, in his chariot (*Cave Temples*, pl. lxxxiii, fig. 2), from which the temple derives the name of Sûrêśvara. The shrine door has a Dravidian moulding on the frieze, and by the jambs are tall dwârapâlas standing on lotuses with very bushy locks and long swords.

The next cave, No. XXVI., is very like the Râmêśvara in plan (pl. xxxii, fig. 5). The hall is 74 feet wide by 25 feet deep and 16½ feet high, with four pillars in front. At each end is a large irregular-shaped room at a somewhat higher level, with two square pillars and pilasters in front, and at the back is a still larger one, about 40 feet square, also with two square pillars and pilasters in front. In the middle of this stands the shrine, about

16 feet square inside, and with a circumambulatory passage about 9½ feet wide all round it. The entrance of the shrine is richly ornamented with sculptured figures, and female statues stand by the pilasters on each side the entrance to the side passages.[1]

The next is a large cave, No. XXVII., known as the Milkmaid's Cave, the plan of which is given on plate xxxv, fig. 4. The front has been supported by six plain octagonal pillars with bracket capitals, but all of them have fallen away except one at the left end and a fragment of one at the right end. The verandah is about 69 feet long by 8 feet 4 inches wide, with several sculptures on the back wall and in the ends. In the walls of the hall three cells are rudely excavated. The carvings are mostly Vaishṇava in character, and the arrangement of separating the hall from the verandah by a wall pierced by three doors and two windows is more in keeping with the plan of a Bauddha cave than any of the other Brahmanical caves at Elurâ.

Cave XXIX.—The Dumar Lena or Sitâ's Châvadi.

This is the most northern of the Brahmanical caves at Elurâ, and certainly one of the finest of the class to be found anywhere. It is also interesting from its being as nearly as may be a duplicate of the celebrated cave at Elephanta, and also of the less known one at Jôgêśvari. All three are executed on the same plan, the light being introduced from three sides, which is no small difficulty in cave architecture, but was necessary to produce the effect of the structural buildings from which they were imitated.

This one is the best preserved and largest of the three, but not the earliest, though the Jôgêśvari one (plate xlvi) is certainly the most modern, and, except the Kailâsa which is exceptional, is probably the last of the great cave temples of India.

A ground-plan of this splendid cave was given in *Cave Temples*, plate lxxix, and we now add a section (plate xxxvii, fig. 1) through the middle of the cave from north to south, showing the front of the shrine, with the *dwârapâlas* at its corners, and the pillars and sculptures on the east side. It is 148 feet wide by 149 feet deep, and 17 feet 8 inches high.

The description in *Cave Temples*, p. 446 f., gives a succinct account of the details and dimensions of this temple, but to give a full description of all its mythological representations and other sculptures, though these are much fewer in proportion to its size than any other cave temple here, would fill half this volume. Plate xxxviii, fig. 1, represents on a good scale the marriage scene on the east wall of the south portico. The two chief figures are Śiva and Pârvatî or Umâ, each with a flower in the left hand; below, to the right, kneeling by the sacrificial fire, is Brahmâ, with three heads, acting as priest; to the left are Menâ and Himâlaya, the mother and father of the bride, with a flower and a cocoa-nut. Above are the gods and goddesses; on the left are—Vishṇu mounted on Garuḍa, Yama on a buffalo, Vâyu or Sôma on a stag, Agni on a goat, and perhaps Varuṇa; on the right are Indra on Airâvati, and Nirṛti on a *makara*. Among the goddesses are probably Gaṅgâ—

"She in her goddess shape divinely fair,
And Yamunâ, sweet river-nymph, were there,
Fanning their lord, that fancy still might deem
Swans waved their pinions round each Lady of the Stream."
. . . .

[1] See *Cave Temples*, pp. 444, 445.



"High o'er their heads sweet Beauty's Queen[1] displayed
Upon a stem of reed a cool green shade,
While the young lotus-leaves of which 'twas made
Seemed, as they glistened to the wondering view,
All richly pearled with drops of beady dew.
In twofold language on each glorious head
The Queen of Speech[2] her richest blessings shed;
In strong, pure, godlike utterance for his ear,
To her in liquid tones, soft, beautifully clear."[3]

Fig. 2 of the same plate represents the left-hand corner of the shrine showing the dwârapâlas with their attendants. At each corner is a similar group, the *mukuṭas* of the guardian figures being very richly carved. At Elephanta these gigantic figures are attended by fat male dwarfs, whereas their companions here are females.

The other sculptures here are arranged as at Elephanta, in the ends of the aisles on the three open sides. But as the shrine occupies the central portion of the back area, there are no sculptures on the walls behind it; whereas at Elephanta, the shrine being in the west side of the cave, the back wall contains the three largest and finest sculptures, viz., the great Trimurti in the centre, Arddhanâri and attendants on the left, and Śiva and Pârvatî with numerous smaller figures on the right. These have no representatives here. In the north verandah, the sculptures correspond to those in the same position at Elephanta, but are greatly inferior in details. In the east end of it is Śiva as a Yogi or ascetic, with a club in his left hand, and seated on a lotus upheld by Nâga figures, with two females worshipping behind each,—an evident copy from the figures of Buddha. None of the accessory figures are represented here which render the Elephanta one so excellent a rendering of Kâlidâsa's poetical description. The panel in the west end is the Taṇḍava dance, said to be performed by Śiva at eventide to the sound of musical instruments, with his hair loose, stamping with frantic energy, attended by his *gaṇa* and Piśâchas, when the dust he raises is put on their heads by the other Dêvatas.[4] The sculpture, however, is very inferior to that on the right of the entrance at Elephanta.

In the west aisle or front of the cave, the panel in the right end is the very frequent one of Râvaṇa under Kailâsa, the white mountain, which is the special abode or heaven of Śiva. The principal figures in this have not the larger proportions than the subordinate ones, which is usually given them in other representations of the same scene,—the finest example of which is to be found under the south porch of the Kailâsa temple, where it is really well represented. In the left or north end is an unfinished sculpture of Bhairava, the terrific form of Śiva, very effectively represented in the Dâs Avatâra (see pl. xxii, fig. 2), and also in the west aisle at Elephanta.

In the south aisle or portico, besides the marriage scene already referred to, is a very common sculpture of Siva and Pârvatî at play, with numerous gandharvas, &c., above; the bull Nandi and the rollicking dwarfs or Gaṇa below; Vishṇu is represented to the right, and Brahmâ on the left. These two are the best executed of the six great panels.

Outside the cave, on each side, is a tall River goddess and attendants.

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[1] S'rî or Lakshmî.

[2] Sarasvatî.

[3] Griffith's *Birth of the War-God*, pp. 98 and 105.

[4] See Wilson's *Hindu Theatre*, vol. i, p. xix, and vol. ii, pp. 53, 58, 59, 153; Colebrooke's *Essays*, vol. ii, p. 153.

CHAPTER VI.

THE JAINA CAVES AT ELURÂ.

It may help to illustrate the chronology of Jaina history[1] and its connection with Buddhism to remember that Mahâvîra, the last Tîrthaṅkara, was contemporary with Buddha.[2] The following table brings together the dates[3] belonging to both sects :—

		B.C.
Gautama Buddha, born at Kapilavastu	About	560
Srêṇika Bimbisâra, king of Magadha[4]	,,	540–512
Vardhamâna, Mahâvîra, or Jñâtaputra, born at Chitrakoṭ in Bihâr	,,	540
Gautama became Buddha at Buddhagayâ	,,	525
Vardhamâna became a Digambara ascetic	,,	509
Vardhamâna became an Arhat or Jina	,,	496
Ajâtasatru, called Kûṇika or Koṇikâ by the Jains	,,	488–461
Gautama Buddha's *Nirvâṇa*	,,	480
Vardhamâna Mahâvîra's *Nirvâṇa*[5] at Pâva	,,	467
Udayibhadra, Udayâsva, Udâyin, or Udâsin,[6] son of Ajâtaśatru	,,	461–437
Nandivardhana, a new dynasty	,,	407–
Alexander the Great's invasion of India	in	327
Chandragupta founded the Maurya dynasty	,,	318–295
Bindusâra or Vârisâra, the Amitrokhates of the Greeks[7]	,,	295–267
Aśoka or Priyadarsi, son of Bindusâra	,,	267–226
Samprati, grandson of Aśoka	about	225–217
Daśaratha, grandson of Aśoka, Saṁgata, S'âliśuka, Sômasarman, and Satadhanvan	,,	217–185
Bṛidhadratha, the last of the Mauryas	,,	185–182
Pushyamitra, the first of the S'uṅga dynasty	,,	182–152
Balamitra, Bhânumitra, and Nabovâhana[8]	,,	150–74
Gardabhilla in Ujjain	,,	74–61

[1] For some notes on Jainism see *Cave Temples*, pp. 485 ff.

[2] See S. Hardy, *Man. Budh.*, p. 274; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. ix, p. 258.

[3] This is based on an extract from Merutuṅga's *Vichâraśreni* in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. ii, p. 362, on Hemachandra's statement (*Pariśishṭaparvan*, viii, 341) that Chandragupta became king 155 years after Mahâvîra's *nirvâṇa*, and on the dates given in *The Cave Temples*, pp. 24–26.

[4] The Ceylon chronicles assign to Bimbisâra the long reign of fifty-two years, and state that he was murdered by his son Ajâtaśatru, while both the *Vâyu* and *Matsya Purâṇas* agree in giving twenty-eight years to his rule, and after him the *Matsya* inserts the names of Kaṇvayana (with nine years) and Bhûmimitra or Bhûmiputra (with fourteen years), which fill up the interval. Bimbisâra's name is given as Vidmisâra in the *Vishṇu P.*, as Vidhisâra in the *Bhagavat*. Lassen, *Ind. Alterth.* (2d. ed.) vol. i, p. 859, and anh. p. xxxviii. For S'reṇika or S'renya, conf. *Asiat. Res.*, vol. xx, p. 46; Burnouf, *Introd. à l'Hist. Buddh. Ind.*, pp. 128, 147.

[5] The Jaina chronicler gives only 108 years to the Maurya dynasty, and places Mahâvîra's *Nirvâṇa* 155 years before Chandragupta's accession, thus giving 312 B.C. (the Seleucidan era) for the latter event. This drops about six years from our usual reckoning; but Merutuṅga and other writers add sixty for the reign of Pâlaka: if we regard this as a mistake for six, the dates relating to Mahâvîra here will be thrown back six years—his death to 473 B.C., just 155 years before Chandragupta (318 B.C.), and add six to the 108 years of the Maurya dynasty, to which the *Purâṇas*, however, assign 137.

[6] According to the *Vâyu Purâṇa* and the Jaina and Bauddha accounts, he founded Pâṭaliputra, and ruled, according to the *Purâṇas*, thirty-three years; but both place Dharbaka, Harshaka or Vanśaka between Ajâtaśatru and him, with a reign of twenty-four or twenty-five years. The Buddhists assign to Ajâtaśatru, thirty-two years; to Udayibhadra, sixteen; to Munda, eight; and to Nâgadaśuka, twenty-four in succession.—Burnouf, *Introd. à l'Hist. Buddh. Ind.*, p. 319; *Mahavamsa*, c. iv.; Lassen, *Ind. Alterth.*, vol. ii, pp. 222, 1207.

[7] Athenæus, xiv, 67; Strabo, *Geog.* II., i, 9.

[8] These were probably kings of Ujjain and not of Magadha.

The Jaina caves at Elurâ form almost a group by themselves separated from the Dumar Lena, the most northerly of the Brahmanical caves, by about 400 yards. The group is a small one, consisting of only five caves, two of them unfinished, but the two principal ones are very extensive works.

The first of them, removed a short distance from the face of the scarp, which at the place is very low, is known as the Chhotâ Kailâsa, from the circumstance that, like the great Brahmanical temple, it is not a cave, but a free-standing monolithic shrine, executed in the middle of a pit hewn out of the rock. It is very much smaller, however, than the great Kailâsa temple, being only one storey in height, with a very stunted and unfinished tower. The hall is only 36 feet 4 inches square, but, like its pattern, has sixteen pillars arranged in four groups; and the shrine at the back is small.

The second also stands in a pit, into which the porch projects, but the hall, quite unfinished, is under the rock. This temple is filled up with earth.[1]

The Indra Sabhâ.

The two principal Jaina caves are very extensive works, superior both in extent and elaboration to any of the Brahmanical caves, excepting of course the Kailâsa, and the Viśvakarma among the Bauddha ones. Though two storeys in height and extremely rich in decoration, the Indra and Jagannâth Sabhâs are entirely deficient in that purpose-like architectural expression which characterised the works of the two earlier religions. They have no cells, like the vihâras, and are nothing like the Chaitya halls of the Buddhists, nor do they suggest the Châvaḍis, like the Dumar Lena, of the Hindus. Rich and elaborate though they certainly are, the plan is compressed, and all their arrangements seem to result more from accident than to have arisen from any well-conceived design, so that they lose half the effect that might have been produced with far less elaboration of detail.

Their age, too, is certainly considerably subsequent to that of the caves belonging to the two other sects, as if, after the decadence of the Râṭhoḍ dynasty[2] in the ninth or tenth century, the Jainas had taken possession of the locality and determined to mark the superiority of their religion, which was then becoming so important, by attempting to rival the works of their predecessors. Had they had any real motive in what they did they might have succeeded in this, but the absence of purpose is so evident in all they did that their failure was inevitable.

The Indra Sabhâ, as explained in the *Cave Temples*, is, like Kailâsa, rather a group of caves than a single one, consisting of a central two-storeyed cave with a court in front and smaller caves forming wings on each side. The plans of both floors have been given in *The Cave Temples* (plates lxxxvii and lxxxviii), and need not be repeated here. But on plate xxxvii, fig. 2, is given a longitudinal section of the cave, which, together with the plans, may enable the reader to form a tolerably accurate idea of its arrangements and architectural style.

The cave faces the south, and outside the court on the east side is a small hall 19 feet by 13 feet, with a low screen wall and two pillars in front, square below and octagonal above, including the capitals. In the ends of this are the favourite sculptures of Pârśvanâtha's temptation[3] and the *tapas* or asceticism of Gautama Ṛishi or Gomaṭêśvara.

[1] For further details, see *Cave Temples*, pp. 495, 496.

[2] The Râshṭrakûṭa kingdom seems to have been divided in the time of Govinda III., when his younger brother, Indra, established a separate kingdom of Gujarât, about the very end of the eighth century.

[3] *Cave Temples*, pl. lxxxvi, and p. 496.

Plate VI



INDRA SABHÂ JAINA ROCK-TEMPLE AT ELURÂ.

A screen wall, left in the rock, terminates the court on the south side, and is pierced by a doorway with a Dravidian roof. This court is about 56 feet inside from north to south and 48 feet across. In it stands an elephant on the right side, about 15 feet high, inclusive of the pedestal; a fine monolithic column[1] 27 feet 4 inches high, which fell over against the side rock about eight years ago; and a small maṇḍapa analogous to the Nandî maṇḍapas in front of Śaiva temples. This is about 8 feet 5 inches square inside, raised by eight steps above the level of the court, with a door on each side, but only with ascents from the north and south sides; each door has two advanced pillars. The roof, as may be seen from the section and the plan of it (plate xl, fig. 1), is Dravidian in style. Inside this room is left a square block of rock, on each side of which is carved a figure of Mahâvîra, one of the Tîrthaṅkaras, with the wheel in front of the seat supported by lions.

The accompanying autotype plate vi is a view taken in 1874, before the monolithic column in the west side of the court fell over, and shows the gateway, the maṇḍapa in the court and the pillar, with portions of the façade behind them.

Exclusive of the verandah, the lower hall must have been intended to be about 72 feet wide by 56 feet deep, beyond which are two free-standing pillars and two in antis in front of the vestibule to the shrine, 40 feet wide and 15 deep, inclusive of the pillars. The shrine alone has been completed, and is 17½ feet wide by 13 feet deep, containing a Mahâvîra seated cross-legged on a lion-throne, with the wheel or *chakra* in front, which is one of his emblems with the Digambara Jainas, to whom these cave temples have belonged.

The stair ascends in the verandah, and lands in the east end of the verandah of the great hall above. This upper hall, exclusive of the verandah, from which it is only separated by a low parapet wall, measures 55 feet deep by 78 feet wide. The verandah is about 54 feet long and 10 feet wide. In each end is a colossal image, the male (*Cave Temples*, plate xci, fig. 1) in the west, and the female in the east, usually known as Indra and Indrâṇî, the former being seated on an elephant and the latter on a lion, with a tree behind the head of each, and small figures of attendants beside them. These figures are perhaps the Yaksha and Yakshiṇî or Śâsanadêvî, the instructors of the Tîrthaṅkara to whom the temple is dedicated. Each Jina or Tîrthaṅkara, like each Buddha, has his sacred tree; but he has also his Śâsanadêva and Dêvî, his principal male disciple or follower, and chief of his female followers. These are very shadowy creations, and it would be difficult to find anywhere among the numerous temples of the sect, with all their exuberance of images, representations of the forty-eight male and female Śâsanas or Yakshas that could be distinguished from one another. Neminâtha, the 22d Jina in their books, has the Vetasa for his tree; but at Mount Girnâr the mango (*Ambâ*) takes its place; his instructor or Yaksha is Gomedha, and his Yakshiṇî Ambikâ;[2] Pârśvanâtha, the 23d, has the Dhâtakî (*Grislea tomentosa*) for his tree, and Pârśvayaksha and Padmâvatî for his instructors; and Mahâvîra, the 24th and last Jina, has the Śâla (*Shorea robusta*)[3] as his consecration tree, and Mâtaṅga[4] and Siddhâyikâ as his attendant divinities. But that the figures at the ends of this verandah, and so frequent in the other caves here and at Aṅkâi, Pâtna, and elsewhere, represent a pair of these divinities is doubtful. They are always represented on the same

[1] For drawing, see *Cave Temples*, pl. lxxx, fig. 2.

[2] She is a form of Durgâ, regarded in Gujarât as a mother-goddess, and has a temple on the summit of Mount Girnâr, which is sacred to Neminâtha.

[3] This is also the Dîkshâ tree of Ajitanâtha and Sumatinâtha, the 2d and 5th Tîrthaṅkaras.

[4] He figures also as the Yaksha to Supârśvanâtha, the 7th Tîrthaṅkara.

animals, and the male is probably meant for Indra, who plays as great a rôle in the Jaina as in Bauddha mythological literature, being an interested listener to the teaching of the Jinas;[1] and the female might be his consort, the voluptuous Śachî or Indrâṇî,[2] but it is much more probably meant for Ambikâ, whose proper vehicle is a tiger or lion, and who is a special favourite among the Jainas.

Behind each of these figures, but entered from the side aisles of the hall, is a small room about 9 feet by 11, by which access is obtained to the shrines on each side of the front area. A few steps lead down from each side room into a smaller one, carved all round with Jaina figures, at the ends of the verandahs of these side shrines. On the east the verandah has two pillars in front and two behind, rising from low parapet or screen walls, with Ambikâ in the south end facing the entrance, at the right side of which Indra is represented with a bag in his left hand and a cocoa-nut in his right, exactly like the figures we find in the shrines of the Bauddha caves facing the principal images. The hall is about 25 feet wide by 23½ feet deep, the roof supported by four square pillars with round capitals. On each side is a deep recess; in that on the right is a naked figure of Gomaṭêśvara, a favourite with the Digambara Jains, and of whom several gigantic figures exist in the Canarese country.[3] He is always represented with creeping plants twining themselves round his limbs, snakes coming out of ant-hills at his feet, his hair falling over his shoulders, and attended by worshippers. In the corresponding recess on the left is Pârśvanâtha, also nude, and with attendant figures.[4] In smaller recesses are figures of Mahâvîra seated cross-legged; on pilasters at each side the shrine door are nude Jaina dwârapâlas; the architraves are carved with numerous small figures; and on the throne inside is a cross-legged Mahâvîra.

Another door in the south-west corner of the great hall has a four-armed Dêvî on the right side, and below, on the left, a figure of Sarasvatî, eight-armed, with a peacock. Passing through a small room and down a few steps with sculptures on each side, we enter the verandah, a small hall similar to that just described. Ambikâ is seated at the right side of the steps, and a Dêvî opposite to her, four-armed, with two round discs or flowers in her uplifted hands, and something very like a *vajra* in her left upon the knee. Indra is seated in the west end of the verandah facing the entrance. A figure of Mahâvîra occupies the shrine and several compartments in the walls. In deep recesses again Pârśvanâtha is placed on the left, and Gomaṭêśvara on the right side of the hall, which is very similar in plan to the one on the east side, but the four central pillars are more elaborately and sharply carved after the pattern of those in the great hall. The two on the inner screen have sixteen sides, and also correspond to those on the screen in the great hall. One of these is represented on plate xxxix, fig. 3, and the carving on the members of the corresponding pilaster in fig. 4. Pairs of figures in dalliance fill the compartments of the low inner screen. On the ceiling are some fragments of painting in this room.

The façade of this side cave is shown in the accompanying plate vii, the greater part

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[1] The *Satruñjaya Mâhâtmya*, for example, is a relation made to Indra, at his own urgent desire, by Mahâvîra.

[2] Her name does not occur in the list of the twenty-four Śâsanadêvîs of the Jinas.

[3] *Ind. Antiq.*, vol. ii, pp. 129, 353; vol. v, p. 37. An inscription on the Kârkaḷa statue, however, calls it an image of Bâhubalin, who was the second son of Ṛishabhanâtha, the first Tîrthaṅkara. See also *Arch. Sur. W. Ind. Rep.*, vol. i, pl. xxxvii, and p. 25.

[4] See a representation of one of these figures of Pârśvanâtha in *Cave Temples*, pl. lxxxvi.



LEFT WING OF THE INDRA SABHÂ AT ELURÂ.

of it being covered with sculpture in an exceedingly good state of preservation. The right half of the rock below is excavated in two storeys and the left in one, and between the upper of the two on the right and the one on the left is a vertical belt of carving; at the bottom of it is represented a fight, in which over three prostrate bodies other three are contending with four. Over this is a smaller panel, in which two females kneel on the left and two males on the right of a sort of stool. And over this again is a figure of Pârśvanâtha seated cross-legged on a *siṁhâsana* or lion-throne, with the wheel in front, a small worshipper at the right corner, a *chauri*-bearer with high cap on each side, and the great seven-hooded snake behind him canopying his head. Above on the left is an object that may be intended to represent a structural chaitya or a dâgoba.

The lowest storey on the right has lately been cleaned of earth, and has two neat pillars in front (plate xxxviii, fig. 2). On the back wall are figures of Indra and Ambikâ, both particularly well cut, and in good preservation when excavated. Pârśvanâtha occupies the left end, and Gomaṭêśvara the right, with deer and dogs at his feet; farther back and seated cross legged is a Tirthaṅkara. In the shrine is Mahâvira with *chauri*-bearers, a triple umbrella and foliage behind the head. Over this is another chapel with Pârśvanâtha on the left side, two small cross-legged Tirthaṅkaras on the upper half of the right side, Indra and Ambikâ in recesses on each side the shrine door, and a Jina inside with *chauri*-bearers seated cross-legged on a *siṁhâsana* with the wheel in front. In this chapel Gômaṭêśvara is carved at the front between it and the façade of the principal cave.

To the left (west) of these two, and nearly as high as both together, is a hall about 30 feet wide by 25 deep, having a screen wall in front, over which rises a pillar on each side the entrance. The upper part of this screen, which, as in temples of the tenth to twelfth centuries, forms the back of a seat inside, is carved with water-vases in small panels, each separated by two colonnettes, and the lower portion, like that of the upper storey, is carved with elephants' heads separated by slender pilasters, and each playing with or feeding on flowers: it differs only in height from the one above and in no *śârdulas* being represented. Inside are four pillars with high square bases and cushion capitals, the front ones only having much carving. In the central compartment on the west wall is Pârśvanâtha,[1] with female *chhatri*-bearer, the snake behind him overshadowing his head with its hoods, and at his feet two Nâganis and two richly dressed worshippers, while round him are numerous demons trying to disturb his meditations, as the emissaries of Mâra attacked Buddha.[2] In the next compartment is a repetition of the same on a smaller scale, with a cross-legged Jina above.

On the east wall Gômaṭêśvara is represented in the central compartment with deer and perhaps a dog at his feet, and female attendants (plate xli, fig. 3). Above him are Gandharvas, one with a large drum just over the umbrella, and others with cymbals and garlands. In the compartment to the right of this is a smaller Pârśvanâtha, and in that to the left a standing figure half split off, with figures of deer, makara, elephant, ram, &c., by the sides. Above it is a small cross-legged Jina, and on the back wall were Indra and Ambikâ, now much defaced, with an ascetic bearing a *chhatri* and holding up one hand to her left. Two stiff Jaina dwârapâlas guard the shrine door, inside which is a Jina on a *siṁhâsana* with the wheel in front. He has two attendants and triple umbrella, with Gandharvas making music to him and bearing garlands.

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[1] *Cave Temples*, pl. lxxxvi.

[2] *Cave Temples*, pp. 328, 345, and pl. li.



The façade over these rooms, forming a parapet in front of the hall above, has a compartment in the centre carved with a male and female, attended by two smaller females, each holding the stalk of a flower; at the sides are pilasters bearing *makaras* holding a *toraṇa* (plate vii). On each side the wall is divided by small pilasters into panels, containing alternately an elephant's head playing with, or feeding on, flowers, and a rampant *śârdula* trampling on a small elephant. Above this is a frieze of water-jars. Above the hall a drip projects covered with florid carving, flying figures in twos and threes, and curious little dwarfs hanging over with garlands. The next moulding is carved with numerous animals, but somewhat weatherworn; and over it is a broad frieze, broken vertically by pilasters into representations of little shrines, each containing a figure; Indra in the centre on the left and Ambikâ on the right, with Gômaṭêśvara, Pârśvanâtha, and other Jinas in the remaining panels. The middle portion, representing the side of a building with an arched roof upheld by four kneeling figures, has a Jina seated cross-legged on the side, and another in a chaitya-window shaped recess just above him. Over this again the rock projects a little, and has served to preserve the sharpness of this sculpture.

Returning to the great hall, the section on plate xxxvii shows to some extent the variety in the patterns of the pillars supporting its roof, and of the arrangement of the sculptures on the walls. The pillars in the central hall are of five different patterns: two in the front and two in the back row are illustrated on plate xxxviii, fig. 3; the two middle columns on each side in fig. 1, with which is also shown the bracket above and the architrave; and the corner pillars are of the style represented in fig. 4. The four columns separating the verandah from the area of the hall are shown on plate xxxix, fig. 1, and those in the front of the verandah in fig. 2.

In the centre of each side wall, occupying a large compartment, is a Jina seated cross-legged on a throne, with the wheel, elephants' heads, and lions carved in front of it, and with two elephants below; like Buddha, he is attended by two *chauri*-bearers and a pair of Vidyâdharas above, with aureole, triple umbrella, and sacred tree. On each of the other areas, between pilasters, are two smaller figures of Jinas on *siṁhâsanas,* and usually with small figures blowing conch-shells, between their trees. On the front of each pillar before the shrine, and also on the corresponding pilasters on each side, are tall nude male figures, some of them much injured. The ceiling has a large lotus in the centre, and still retains a good deal of painting, though somewhat smoked.[1] The door of the shrine is represented on plate lxxxix of *The Cave Temples.*

The Jagannâth Sabhâ.

The second large Jaina cave in this group is known as the Jagannâth Sabhâ,[2] and is so close to the Indra Sabhâ that the wall of the west wing of the upper floor of the latter has been broken through into a cell on the east side of the upper floor of the Jagannâth Sabhâ. The court of this cave, however, is much smaller than that of the last, hardly 38 feet square, and has contained some structural erections now entirely destroyed. The plan of the ground-floor with the small cave to the west of it is given on plate xc, fig. 1, of the *Cave Temples,* and that of the upper floor, together with the west shrine of the Indra Sabhâ, on fig. 2; and on plate xcii, fig. 3, is given a drawing of one of the pillars in the lower hall, while fig. 1 represents the style of those in the upper hall.

[1] For further details see *Cave Temples,* pp. 496–500.

[2] *Cave Temples,* pp. 500, 501, and plates xc and xcii, figs. 1 and 3.

The approach to the upper floor has been very clumsily planned—probably it was quite forgotten at first, and afterwards inserted—at the right corner of the court, where a rude stair leads up to the right corner of the great hall, which is 57 feet wide by 44 feet deep, and varying in height from 13 feet 4 inches in the front aisle to 14½ feet in parts of the central area. Twelve massive pillars arranged round an oblong central area support the roof, and two in front with a low connecting parapet wall and corresponding pilasters, form three openings in 38 feet to light the interior. This arrangement, which is followed with slight modifications in all the Elurâ caves, renders them much lighter than the plan adopted in the Ajaṇṭâ, Nâsik, Kuḍâ, and other Bauddha caves. Outside, the parapet is sculptured with a large elephant head at each end and in front of each pillar, with smaller figures of human beings in the central division, and of animals in the two side divisions; and over them is a rail of small colonnettes and flower-jars, the body of each of the latter being carved with human and other figures. The front of the drip above has been carved with forty little *gaṇa*, and other sculptures above them, now much weatherworn. Over this, but removed back a few feet, are the decayed remains of a frieze richly sculptured with elephants, *makaras*, human figures, &c.

The lower floor of this is on the model of that of the Indra Sabhâ, but is much smaller, and has been finished, whereas in the latter case the pillars are little more than blocked out and the side aisles hardly commenced. This hall is only about 24 feet square and 13¾ feet high, with four pillars in the floor, and having in front a narrow verandah with two square pillars on the screen wall. This parapet has been finished only on the left of the entrance, with elephant heads below and water-jars above, while the carving on the portion to the right of the entrance has only been begun along the upper portion.

One of the front pillars to the left of the entrance, with a portion of the screen wall, is represented on plate xxxviii, fig. 3.

Two more pillars on a low partition separate the verandah from the hall, which has two recesses—one on the left side containing the usual standing figure of Pârśvanâtha with the snake-hoods over him and attendant figures, and another on the right side containing the corresponding figure of Gômaṭêśvara and attendants, all remarkably sharply cut. Figures of Jinas seated cross-legged fill the other six wall areas between the pilasters. In the verandah Indra occupies the left or west end, and Ambikâ the right or east end. The shrine is entered through a small antechamber with a fine *toraṇa* arch over the entrance; it is about 9 feet by 7, and 10 feet 8 inches high, with a cross-legged figure of Mahâvîra on the throne. The drip over the entrance has not been carved, and large pieces have fallen out of it.

The hall on the left side of the court is about 27 feet square and 12 feet high, with a shrine 9½ feet by 8½, and 9 feet 1½ inches high, and on each side of it is a cell, the left one breaking into the next cave. This and the breaking into the cell at the left end of the upper storey of the recess on the right of this hall may perhaps indicate that it was forced in here after the others were completed.

On the other side of the court are two other small chapels, the walls of which are covered with Jaina sculpture.

Cave XXXIV.,

The last of the series of caves, joins close on to the Jagannâth Sabhâ, and has been broken into by the hall on the west side of the court of the latter. The verandah in front

has been quite destroyed, except a small fragment of the left end. The back wall of it has two pilasters, and is pierced by a door and two windows. The hall is 20½ feet wide by about 22 feet deep, and is 9 feet 8 inches high, with four pillars in it, and corresponding pilasters on the wall. One of the pillars is given in plate xl, fig. 4. All the spaces between the pilasters on the walls are covered with rich sculpture.[1]

The colossal figure of Parśvanâtha on the other side of the ridge is described in *The Cave Temples* (p. 502), where a translation of the inscription upon it, dated 3rd Phâlguna sudi Ś. 1156, corresponding to Wednesday, Feb. 21, A.D. 1235, will also be found. It records the dedication of this image by one Chakrêśwara of (*Va*)rddhanâpura.

CHAPTER VII.

THE CAVES AT BÂDÂMI AND AIHOLE.

In *The Cave Temples* (pp. 404–416) and in the first volume of these *Reports*[2] the Brahmanical and Jaina caves at Bâdâmi and Aihoḷê, in the Kalâdgi district, were illustrated in considerable detail. The discovery of the date of the finest of them also supplied an important datum for the settlement of the chronology of these works. Little need here be added to the details there given, but, extensive as is the illustration in the first *Report*, it falls far short of representing the full sculptured wealth of these caves, and I now add a ground-plan showing the whole group of caves at Bâdâmi (plate xli, fig. 2). The ascent is from the Śaiva Cave No. I., at the west corner of the scarp, to Caves II. and III., which are Vaishṇava. Beyond them, and accessible from below, is the Jaina Cave No. IV.

Round the upper part of the walls, over the pillars in front and back of the verandah in Cave II., is a frieze containing a belt of sculpture only 10 inches broad, in which the figures are crowded together so as to represent a considerable chapter of mythology. This is given on plate viii, where figs. 1–3 represent the portion on the inside of the front wall, and figs. 4–8 that on the back. It would be needless describing these scenes in detail; those acquainted with Hindu mythology will make them out. They begin with Vishṇu sleeping on Śêsha, with the lotus springing from his navel bearing a very small Brahmâ; in the first half of fig. 2 is Śrî, his consort, bathed by elephants, &c., with Vishṇu mounted on Garuḍa, Indra on the elephant Airâvati, and other gods to the left; and well to the right Chandî destroying Mahishâsura. The next compartment is the churning of the ocean by the gods and Asuras, and the horse Uchchaiḥśravas, one of the products of the operation.[3] The end section (fig. 3) represents a battle. Fig. 5, on the left end of the back wall, hardly seems connected with the others;[4] figs. 5, 6, 7 apparently relate to the history of Kṛishṇa.[5]

On the rock outside Cave I., the Śaiva Cave, is sculptured a figure of Śiva performing

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[1] See *Cave Temples*, pl. xci, fig. 2, for a drawing of one compartment.

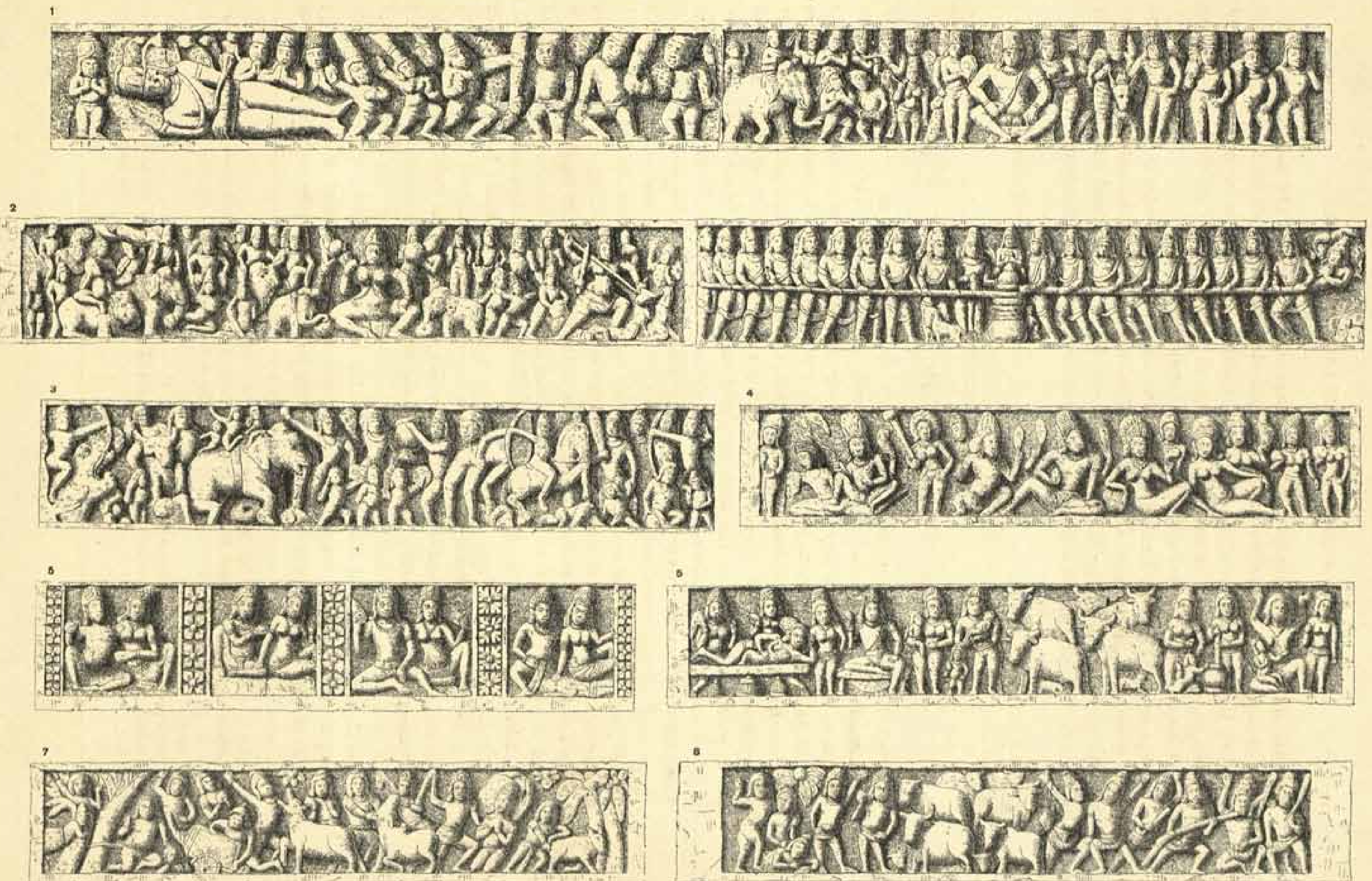
[2] *Report on the Belgaum and Kalâdgi Districts* (1874), pp. 15–28, 37–40, and plates xvii to xxxvii and xlviii to l. In the *Ind. Ant.*, vol. vi, pp. 354–366, will also be found an account of the sculptures, illustrated by seven plates.

[3] See *Reports*, vol. iii, *On Bedar and Aurangâbâd*, p. 17.

[4] Portions of these sculptures are very similar to some of those on the pillars of the temple of Virûpâksha at Paṭṭadakal. Unfortunately, they are not labelled with the names of the actors, as is the case on one pillar there, where the war of Râma with the Râkshasas is represented.—See *Reports*, vol. i, p. 32.

[5] The principal sculptures, which are Vaishṇava, have been described in vol. i, *ut sup.*

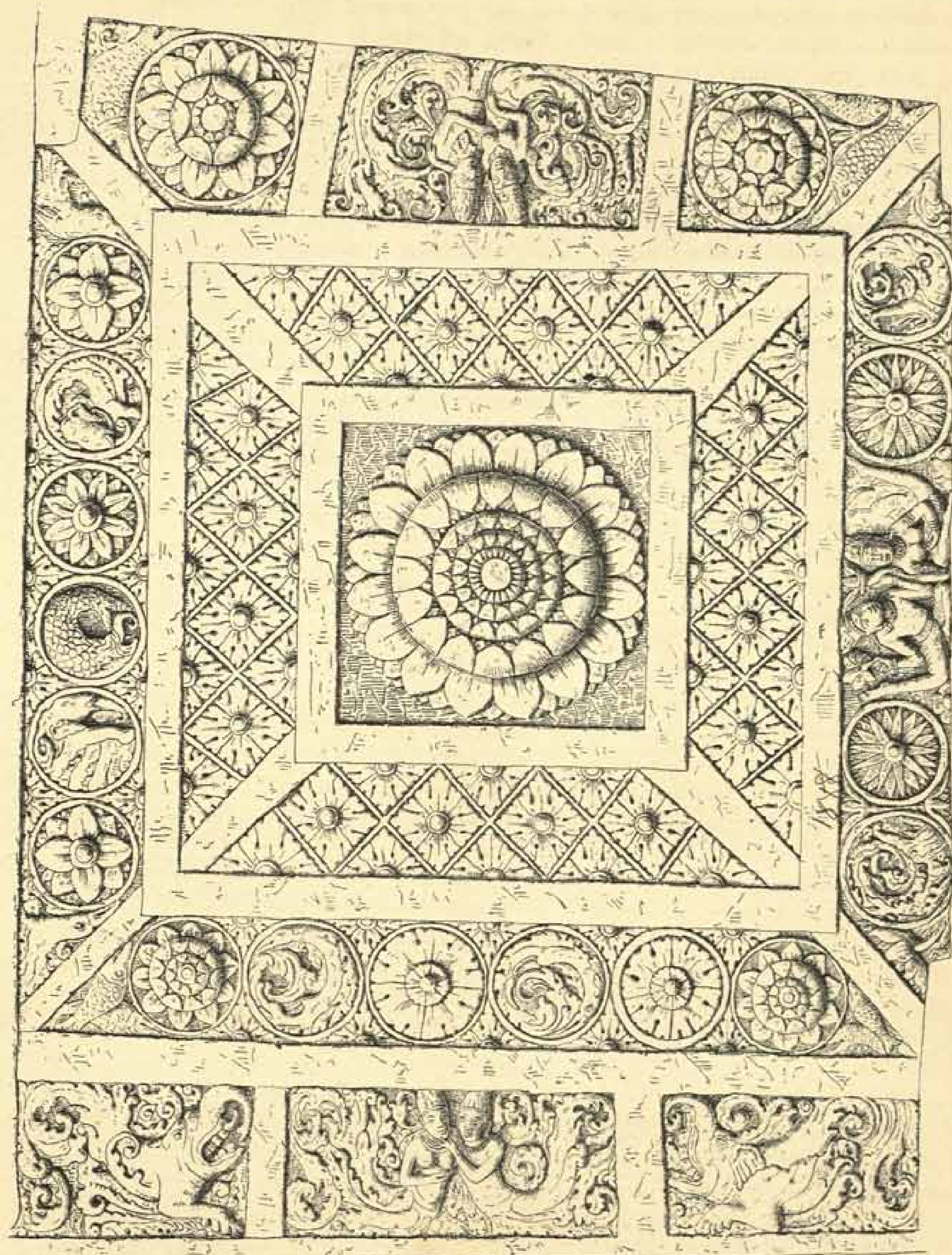
BADAMI.-FRIEZE IN THE VERANDAH OF CAVE II.



J. Burgess

W. Griggs, Photo-lith.

AIHOLE:-CEILING OF THE BRAHMANICAL CAVE.



Scale of 1 ... 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Feet.

J. Burgess, *H. Cousens, del.*

the *Tâṇḍava* dance on a lotus, figured with the very unusual number of eighteen arms (plate xli, fig. 3), and attended by Nandi, Gaṇêśa, and Nârada.[1]

In the great Cave No. III. is a frieze very similar in subject to that in Cave II., only the band is 14 inches high, and being of much greater length, the twenty compartments of varying lengths, extending to over 120 feet in all. Of this, about half is represented on plate xlii. In the central portion of fig. 1 is Śrî bathed by the heavenly elephants; to the right is Narasiṁha, the lion avatâra, tearing up Hiraṇyakaśipu, and on the left Vishṇu on Garuḍa, engaged in combat with a *dêva* in a chariot. In No. 2 Vishṇu again appears in the centre on Garuḍa, and to the right again contending with Indra in fight. A battle-scene occupies No. 3. In No. 4 Garuḍa appears carrying off the jar of *Amṛita*, the water of life, from the Asuras, and to the left protecting it. In No. 5 it is perhaps Râhu who appears to the right of the jar; Śiva leans on Nandi, and Garuḍa is flying from the left. No. 6 represents the churning of the ocean, and Nos. 7 and 8 seem to be the scenes preparatory to that undertaking, the gods, mostly four-armed, figuring prominently as if in consultation. The other scenes[2] closely resemble those in Cave II. In one of them is Kṛishṇa upholding the mountain Govardhana over the flocks of Vraj, a scene also represented in the Kailâsa temple at Elurâ and at Mahâvallipuram.[3]

The AIHOLE caves are only two—one Brahmanical and one Jaina, and have been described in the first of these *Reports*[4] and in *The Cave Temples.*[5] The Brahmanical shrine, though very small and much injured by Jogis living in it, is so rich in sculpture that a few specimens may be here added. Plate ix represents the roof of the small hall, and with the other examples from the neighbouring Jaina cave, figured on plate xlix of the *Report* on the Belgaum and Kalâdgi districts, and that of the Jaina cave at Ankâi given in this volume (plate l, fig. 1) are almost the only examples yet found of an attempt to reproduce by carving in relief the forms we have become so familiar with in painting at Ajaṇṭâ and elsewhere. These too may have been originally enriched by the addition of colour, though it was hardly required—the relief of the carving being quite sufficient for ornamental effect, and its greater permanency had much to recommend it. Barring a curious irregularity in the setting out, and which is owing to the shape of the room, the selection of the ornaments in this ceiling is judicious and elegant, and their arrangement is sufficiently varied, without confusion, to render it one of the most pleasing specimens of a Hindu ceiling we are acquainted with. It is so at least till we come to the elaborately constructed coffers of the temples at Baroli and Mount Abu,[6] which belong to a later age and different style of architecture. This ceiling, however, is interesting as a first attempt at a style of decoration that afterwards gave rise to some of the most beautiful forms of Hindu architecture.

Plate xliii, fig. 2, represents Hara or Śiva with only two arms, the *paraśu*, *marhu*, or battle-axe by his left side, and the *triśûla* at his right, holding a snake in his hand, while another twines round the *paraśu*, and wearing the crescent moon on his *mukuṭa*.

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1 For a sketch of the sculpture of Ardhanârêśvara in this cave, see *Ind. Ant.*, vol. vi, p. 359, and plate.

2 See *Ind. Ant.*, vol. vi, p. 365, and plates, where the figures should be arranged as follows: 2d plate, 4th, 5th, and 2d lines; 1st plate, 8th, 6th, 4th, and 2d lines.

3 *Cave Temples*, pp. 149, 460.

4 Vol. i, pp. 37–39, and plates xlviii to l.

5 Pp. 404, and 491, 492.

6 Tod's *Annals of Rajasthan*, vol. ii, pp. 708, 733, &c.

This is in the north or left corner at the back of the hall. In the right-hand corner is the group represented in fig. 1, of Śiva, four-armed, without symbols, but holding a triple lock of his hair on each side, with Pârvati at his left hand and Bhṛîngi, his Sannyâsî attendant, at his right. Below are four *gaṇa*. But the peculiarity of this group is in the three goddesses that rise from a cloud in the shape of a large shell on the *mukuṭa*. The Gaṅgâ river is fabled to flow from Śiva's hair, and the three heads perhaps represent the river goddesses of the three principal streams, which the Hindûs regard as forming their sacred river, viz., the Gaṅgâ, the Yamunâ, and the Sarasvatî,[1] the junction at Allahâbâd being called *Triveṇî*—"triple braid." This triad of river goddesses was doubtless once painted—Gaṅgâ, the daughter of Himâlaya, would be white; Yamunâ, the daughter of Sûrya, on her left, blue; and Sarasvatî, on Gaṅgâ's right, would be red.

In the ends of the antechamber leading into the shrine are two sculptures, one (fig. 3) of Varâha, the boar form of Vishṇu bearing Pṛîthivî or Bhûmidêvî, the earth, on his left hands, holding the *chakra* or discus in one of the right hands, and with the *śaṅkh* figured in the upper right corner, while a Nâga and Nâginî are shown below, perhaps representing Hiraṇyâksha,[2] who had dragged off the earth, and his consort. On the opposite side is a pretty entire figure of Durgâ as Mahishamardinî (fig. 4), which may be compared with other figures of the same goddess elsewhere. In the left chapel, off the hall, is the Tâṇḍava dance represented in fig. 5, where Śiva has ten arms.

CHAPTER VIII.

JÔGÊŚVARI OR AMBOLI AND LONAD.

The large cave known as Jôgêśvari, near Amboli, in Salsette, was described in the *Cave Temples* (pp. 475–477), but without any illustration. The ground-plan is now given on plate xliv, showing its general resemblance to the Dumar Lena at Elurâ and the great Elephanta cave,[3] while there are also marked differences perhaps indicative of the later date of this example. The great hall, which is about 94 feet each way, has twenty columns arranged in a square as in the Buddhist vihâras, and in the centre of this stands the shrine, scarcely 17 feet square inside. Being constructed under a low rocky knoll, and lighted only by what comes in through three doors and two windows in the back wall of the front verandah, with some slight addition from the side doors, it is much darker inside than any of the Elurâ caves, and the drainage running into it from the sides, it must always have been a very damp temple during the rains. Now it stands deep in water for months after they cease.

There is no sculpture on the inner walls, as at Elephanta and the Dumar Lena, though the pillars are of the Elephanta type. The doors and windows in the verandah have mouldings round them, and panels above filled with small groups. The verandah in front is 117 feet long by 15 wide, and an irregular open court has been excavated before it, with two water cisterns, on the plan of the neighbouring caves at Kaṇheri, and also a small shrine and another room. Two narrow passages have also been cut through the rock into the east end

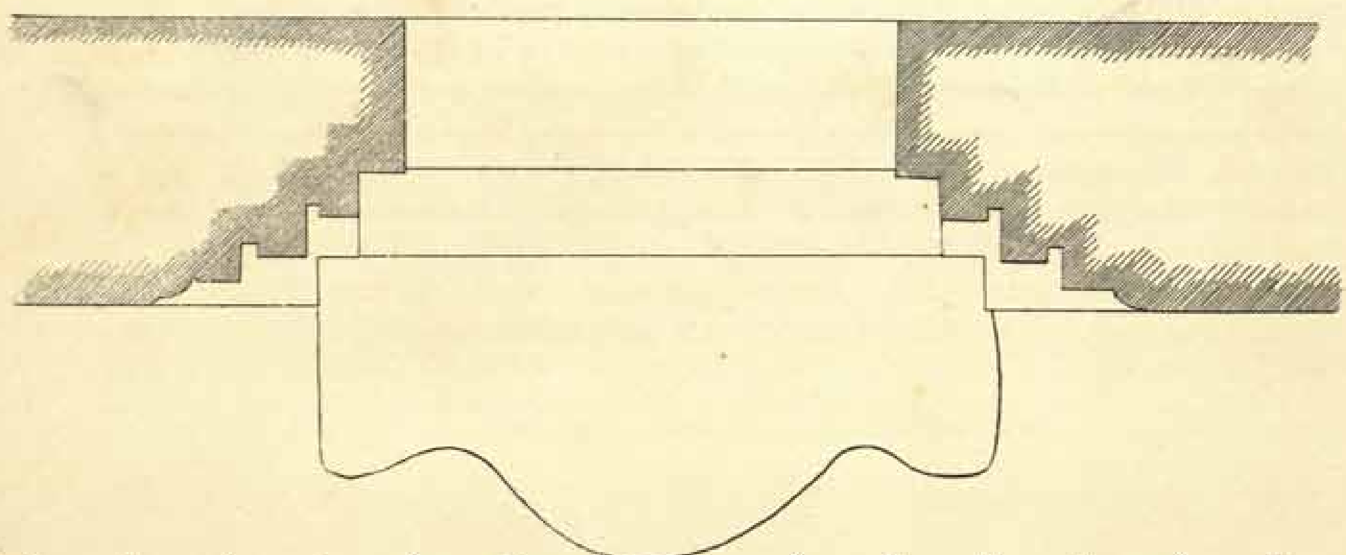
[1] Ante, p. 34. A similar way of representing this triad is to be found at Elephanta. See my *Elephanta*, § 44.

[2] See *Harivaṁśa*, ccxxiv.

[3] *Cave Temples*, plates lxxix and lxxxv.

JOGEŚVARI.

SHRINE DOOR.



Scale of 12 6 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 Feet.

J. Burgess. *H. Cousens, del.*

of this court, by the side of one of which is another small shrine. The left or west side of the hall is entered by a sloping passage, with a cistern by the side of it, which enters first into a sort of guard-room with unfinished rooms on each side, on the plan of the gateway at Elurâ, and with decayed remains of sculpture round the door. From the opposite or east side a more elaborate entrance is formed. First a stair descends or slopes down to a wide door that gives entrance to a large room over 30 feet deep, with a wide passage through it, separated from the side areas by a screen of four pillars on each side. This leads into an open court nearly 60 feet wide by 40 deep, with two irregular upright blocks of rock, apparently intended to be hewn into *dhvaja-stambhas* or ensign pillars, similar to those on each side of the court of the Kailâsa temple at Elurâ.

This court has three doors into another hall 59 feet wide by about 31½ deep and 16⅔ feet high, and which is divided into three areas by two rows of four pillars each—each division having its own entrance into the great hall of the cave. The central door has been carefully sculptured, and though now somewhat decayed, it is the best preserved piece of sculpture here, and is represented on plate xliv, fig. 2. Over the door, under a *torana*, Śiva is seated—apparently receiving worship. Above the *makaras* on either side are female figures and cherubs. To the left is the marriage scene so often represented. On the right are Śiva, Nandî, and Pârvatî, and attendants; and the tall dwârapâlas and attendant dwarfs by the jambs are in keeping with those found in other Śaiva caves. Over the outer door of the first hall on this side is also left a portion of the sculpture representing Râvaṇa in the well-known scene under Kailâsa. Gaṇêśa figures to the left of Śiva, and among the *gaṇas* below expressing their scorn of Râvaṇa are some with animal heads. Over the *makaras* at the sides are figures on clouds, and above them again are clouds.

The shrine doors are also moulded, and the principal one, represented on the accompanying plate x, will fully illustrate their style, and presents a close analogy to those in the cave on the eastern hill of Elephanta called Sîtâ's dêvala,[1] and which is apparently more modern than the great cave there. The whole style is indicative of a later date for this hall than either the Elephanta one or the Dumar Lena; in fact, as stated in *The Cave Temples*, it may be regarded as one of the very latest of the larger cave temples in India, and may be ascribed to the end of the eighth century A.D.

Lonâd.

Lonâd is a small village about 3½ miles N.N.E. from Kalyâṇ, and about 30 miles from Bombay. In a hill which forms one side of a glen above this village Mr. W. F. Sinclair, of the Bombay Civil Service, discovered a rock temple in January 1875.[2] It faces S. by W., and consists of a verandah 48 feet long by 10 feet wide, of a hall 45 feet long by 19 deep, entered by three doors, and of an unfinished shrine at the back (see plan on pl. xlvi, fig. 3). The verandah has four square pillars in front, with a carved frieze above about a foot deep; the left-end portion, or fully one-third of it, is represented on pl. xlv, fig. 1. It will be observed that there is nothing specially distinctive of any religious sect in these groups, but when compared with those in the Bâdâmi caves (plates viii and xlii), they appear to belong to the same general class. In a recess at the left end of the front of the verandah is a larger group, represented in fig. 3. It is a good deal destroyed on the right or outer

[1] See my *Elephanta*, §§ 103, 104, and drawings x and xi.
[2] See *Ind. Ant.*, vol. iv, pp. 68, 165.



side, but measures about 8 feet by 6 feet. A pilaster on the left side of the sculpture supports a *makara* from whose mouth a *toraṇa* issues, and it is probable the other side was similar. In the centre sits a male figure, as in the fourth compartment of the frieze; a small female chafes his left foot, and a taller one by his side holds up a sword, as in many of the Ajaṇṭâ wall paintings.[1] On his right are three females, one with a *chauri*, and another with a dish or other round object. Two males with curled hair sit on his right, and other two on his left, each pair being engaged in conversation, while numerous other figures fill up the background. The scanty clothing of all the figures reminds one of the Amarâvatî sculptures; but there is nothing distinctively sectarian in this sculpture any more than in those of the frieze.

The side doors are surrounded by plain facias, and have small standing figures at each side, and the central one has slender pilasters and a leaf moulding outside with chaitya arches on the lintel. At each side is a sort of horizontal disc, borne by a small curly-headed dwarf, both much injured (see fig. 2). Besides the unfinished shrine, there are incisions made in the back wall of the hall, as if for the beginning of two cells. There can be no doubt that this was intended as a Brahmanical shrine, but whether Śaiva or Vaishṇava, it would be difficult to decide. The cave is now dedicated to a Grâmadêvî or village goddess, known as Khaṇḍêśvarî, or the goddess with the sword (*khaṇḍa*)—possibly from the figure in the sculpture described above. In the left end of the front, opposite the sculpture, is a rough square isolated block of stone left in a recess.

The style of the sculpture and of the mouldings on the pilaster, pillars, and door, indicate a much later date for this cave than for even the last described. A little to the left of this and higher up are two or three unfinished cells.

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[1] *e.g.* in *Cave Temples*, pl. xliii, where two may be seen.

CHAPTER IX.

ELEPHANTA CAVES.

THE great cave at Elephanta, in the Bombay harbour, has been so long known to Europeans, and has been consequently so often described and so fully illustrated by Daniell and others,[1] that it is hardly necessary to say anything about it in the present work.

The cushion-shaped capitals which crown all its pillars, as represented in the accompanying woodcut (No. 18), seems to have reached its greatest development and beauty of form in this cave, but is found in greater or less perfection in so many caves dating from before and after this one, that it has come to be considered the typical capital of Indian architecture. It may be compared with the Doric style of classical art in the same manner as the vase with the leaf falling over it, as exemplified in the Râmêśvara and elsewhere,[2] may be considered as a richer Ionic order. The two are the principal forms or "orders" of Indian art, and though they may be compared[3] with the classic orders, they are thoroughly original in their form and indigenous in their inception.



No. 18.—Pillars and Corner of the Shrine in Elephanta. From a photograph.

The Elephanta cushion capital is also of interest, as being the same form that constitutes the *amalâ śila* or *amalâka* crown to Hindu temples of the same age; and though we are still unable to guess from what it may have been derived, we can hardly escape the conviction that their origin was the same.

In some respects the Dumar Lena at Elura may be said to be a finer cave than this, as it is a larger one, but it wants that perfection of finish both in architectural and sculptural details which make this temple so remarkable and so justly admired. The third of the group—the Jôgêśvarî one—both as regards its architecture and sculpture, is greatly inferior, and probably may be considered as the last of the class.

This cave may belong to the middle of the eighth century, and is the most complete of its class, which consists of the three great halls of Dumar Lena, Jôgêśvarî, and Elephanta.

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[1] See *Cave Temples*, pp. 465–475, and plate lxxxv for the ground plan For some of these accounts, see Niebuhr's *Voyage en Arabie*, &c., tome ii, p. 25–33; Dr. W. Hunter in *Archæologia*, vol. vii, pp. 286–295; H. Macneil in *ibid.* vol. viii, pp. 270–277; *Asiat. Res.*, vol. iv, pp. 409–417; Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs*, vol. i, pp. 423, 432, 435, 441–448; W. Erskine, *Trans. Bomb. Lit. Soc.*, vol. i. pp. 198–250; Fergusson, *Rock-Cut Temples*, pp. 54, 55; Dr. J. Wilson, *Calcutta Review*, vol. xlii (1866), pp. 1–25; and my *Rock Temples of Elephanta or Gharapuri* (Bombay, 1871).

[2] Compare also the capital from cave XXIV at Ajaṇṭâ figured in *Report*, vol. iv, p. 57, woodcut No. 17; *Cave Temples*, pl. xlix, fig. 1; in the Tîn Ṭhâl, *ib.* pl. lviii, fig. 2; in the Viśvakarma, pl. lxiii, fig. 2; in Râvaṇa kâ Khâi, pl. lxxi, fig. 2; in Kailâsa, pl. lxxxiv, figs. 1, 2, 3; and at Aurangâbâd, pl. lxvi, fig. 2.

[3] We might similarly compare the pillars in the Kârle Chaitya, and in several of the Nâsik Caves, with the Tuscan order.

The accompanying autotype plate xi presents two of the compartments on the back wall of this cave; that to the left being the Trimûrti or large three-headed bust of Śiva, representing him in the three characters of Rudra, Brahmâ, and Vishṇu. The central face is that of Brahmâ, or Śiva as the Creator, that to the spectator's right is the same god as the preserver or Vishṇu, and that to the left holding the snake in his hand and with the tusks is Rudra, the destructive form of Śiva. The other compartment to the left represents Śiva in the androgynous form of Ardhanâri, the right side being male, and leaning on Nandi, the favourite vehicle of Śiva, and the left female representative of Pârvatî. The gods are represented on the clouds on either side of this group doing them reverence.

But, besides the great cave, there are several others on the island, which seems to have been a very early sacred place; for, on the north-east of it, on its highest point, is a large ruined brick Bauddha stûpa, which I had opened in May 1882, but found no relic chamber in it.

Not far from this, in a south-westerly direction, and north-east from the great cave, is a neat cave (plate xlvi, fig. 2) with a large court in front, and having a hall or portico 73½ feet long by 26½ feet deep and 11 feet high, with four pillars in front and two pilasters. Each pillar is 3 feet square to a height of 4½ feet from the plinth on which it stands, and the neck and compressed-cushion capital, 3 feet 9 inches high, is sixteen-sided. In the back of the hall are three shrines, the side ones empty, and the central one, 15 feet 7 inches square, contains only a moulded altar.

This cave appears to be the one mentioned by De Couto (1603), who says that "in the other hill of this small island, to the east and nearly in the centre, beyond the great temple, is another temple, to which the entrance was formerly by a beautiful gate which had a porch of marble most exquisitely wrought. This temple has a large hall and three chambers; in the first, to the right hand, there is nothing left now; the second has two idols seated on a large square seat. One of these idols was called Vithalâ Chendai, had six arms and only one head, and was supported by two small idols that were on each side of it."[1] This probably referred to Viṭṭhala and Chandî, or possibly only to Chandî or Durgâ in one of her terrific forms—the Mahishêśvarî with the Asura and her attendants. The cave is now known as Sîtâbâî's Dêvala.

Quite near to the great cave, a little to the south-east of it, are two others, much ruined in front, but otherwise not without interest, and probably older than the large one. The fronts of both have entirely fallen, but they have been on the general plan of the last described, a long hall or deep verandah, with three cells at the back, and other apartments in the ends. The portico of the first (Cave II. on plate xlvi, fig. 1) is 85 feet long by about 35 feet deep, with a shrine and two cells behind, and a large room in the left end, about 39 feet by 20 feet, screened off by four octagonal pillars. The shrine door is moulded, and has dwârapâlas by the jambs. In the other (Cave III.) the portico has been 49 feet long, with a liṅga shrine and two cells at the back, and a room at the left end about 21 feet by 16 feet, with slender square pillars in front and a cell at the back, and at the right end is another small room leading into two more cells.

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[1] *Da Asia*, dec. vii, liv. iii, cap. 11; see also Niebuhr, *Voyage*, tome ii, p. 33.



TRIMURTI AND ARDDHANÂRI SCULPTURES IN ELEPHANTA CAVE TEMPLE.

CHAPTER X.

HARIŚCHANDRAGAD AND PATNA CAVES.

THE Hariśchandragaḍ Caves admit of but little illustration, as they are exceedingly plain, and what sculpture there is has been repeated elsewhere, and they have been fully described already.[1] The plans (plate xlvii) may help, however, to make the description more intelligible. Fig. 1 is the ground plan of Cave II., the most complete of the group, and whilst there is a figure of Gaṇeśa on the lintel of the central door, it will be seen from the arrangements that there is no shrine or place for worship; the plan is that of a dwelling-house, not of a shrine. There seems no reason to suppose that it was ever meant for ought else, and was probably the dwelling of the priest in charge of the neighbouring temple.

Cave I. also (see plan, fig. 2) is only a smaller place of the same sort, with a well in front. In a small room on the right side of the court of Cave III. is an altar, and inside the cave is a large figure of a nude Gaṇêśa in a panel about 6 feet square. Cave IV. consists of an outer oblong cell with an inner one rough and unfinished. Cave V. is lower, and in a water-course; the front has fallen away and a structural one is substituted. The plan is irregular and unfinished, with broad high benches along the three inner sides, and a cell on the right. Close to it is a water-cistern. Cave VI. is at a slightly higher level, and is similar to No. IV., the front room being 16 feet by 8½ feet, but a bed of *muram* or soft clay has destroyed the walls. In Cave VII. the outer room is deeper, with an open front, and in the inner one is a long *vêdi* or altar, as if for three images, and with some small figures and lozenge-shaped ornaments carved on the front of it. At the right end is a basin to receive the water, &c., from the images. The *muram* bed has also damaged its left and back walls of this cave. Cave VIII. is similar to No. IV., with a larger cell.

To the N.N.W. of these small caves and at a lower level stands an old temple of perhaps the tenth century, consisting only of a neat Vimâna, with four small porches on the sides, standing in the middle of a court, the west side of which consists of a rocky face, in which are excavated three caves (see plan, fig 3),[2] one of them with a cell in the corner of it. In the south side is a shrine and two cells, and on the right is a wall with a small shrine near the entrance; the wall that once bounded the north side has fallen. This temple spire is much like that of the temple of Pâpanâtha at Paṭṭadakal, and is probably as old as the rock excavations, which seem to have been meant for the accommodation of the attendants. The pillars and roofs of the small porches are elegantly carved.

Farther down the stream a little is a rock-cut hall about 55 feet square, with a large *liṅga* altar in the middle of it.

PATNA CAVES.

The caves of Pâtna or Kaṇhar, on the south border of Khandêsh, near to the Pitalkhorâ Bauddha cave, consist of three excavations, one Brahmanical and two Jaina.[3]

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[1] *Cave Temples*, pp. 477–479; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. v, pp. 10, 11.

[2] The structural parts are indicated on the plan by the hatched lines being vertical.

[3] *Cave Temples*, pp. 428 and 492.

The Brahmanical cave is locally known as Śringâr Châvaḍi, of which the ground-plan is given plate xlviii, fig. 2, and a section to double the scale (fig. 1), showing the return of the façade along the side of the court, and the carving on the screen wall and pillars, the style of which indicates a comparatively late date, as does also that of the entrance door, shown in plate xlvii, fig. 5, with its very high step and mediæval style of ornamentation.

The Jaina caves are known as Nâgârjuna's Koṭri and Sîtâ's Nâhni, the latter a very irregular unfinished cave, and the other, strangely enough, bearing the name of one of the greatest Bauddha teachers, if not the founder of the Mahâyâna schools.[1] The plan of the first is given plate xlviii, fig. 4, the longitudinal section in fig. 3, and a transverse section in plate xlvii, fig. 4, which shows Indra and Ambikâ seated in front of the two very rude pillars, and the Jina on a low throne against the back wall. These, with the details given in the *Cave Temples*, are sufficient to give a correct idea of this very late Digambara Jaina excavation.

CHAPTER XI.

ANKAI CAVES.

LITTLE need be added to the account of the Brahmanical Caves at Ankâï-Tankâï given in *The Cave Temples*, p. 480. The sketch plate l, fig. 3 represents the sculpture at the right side of the entrance to the first cave, and fig. 2 is a drawing of the door of the shrine to the scale of 1 inch to 3 feet. The sculptures represented in these drawings indicate pretty clearly that these caves belong to about the same date as the latest Elurâ Brahmanical caves, about the tenth century. There are no sculptures whatever in the other three excavations. On plate xlix, fig. 6, is a plan of the very irregular Cave No. II.

The Jaina Caves on the ascent to the hill fort are a much more interesting series,[2] and have been elaborately carved. The accompanying autotype plate xii presents the appearance of the first two caves, which are two-storeyed, and on plate xlix, figs 1–3, are the section and plans of both floors of No. II. On the outside wall at each end of the façade are lions in full relief, and the front wall is perforated in small square holes to admit light. In the lower storey the front apartment, about 26 feet wide by 12 deep and 9½ feet high, has the usual Jaina figures of Indra and Ambikâ in the ends, and an elaborately carved door (pl. xlvii, fig. 6) from it into the hall, which is about 25½ feet square. A small lobby leads into the shrine by a door also carefully sculptured. In the shrine is a throne with an arched back and a high step to it, but no image.

The plans of Caves III. and IV. are given in figs. 5 and 6 of plate xlix, and will render the account in *The Cave Temples* more intelligible. The roof of the central area of Cave III., between the four pillars, as there mentioned, is carved with a large lotus, having four concentric

[1] Nâgârjuna is said to have lived as a hermit in Western India, but was converted to Buddhism by Kapimala of Patna, the 13th Patriarch. Can this story have anything to do with this locality? The cave, however, is of much later date than the time of the 14th Bauddha Patriarch, who must be placed before the Christian era.

[2] See *Cave Temples*, pp. 505–508, and plates xciv and xcv for plans and section of Cave No. I., also the door and image of the Jina.



TWO JAINA CAVE-TEMPLES AT ANKÂÏ.

rows of petals, two of which are sculptured with figures: the inner with sixteen single figures dancing or playing on musical instruments, and the outer with twenty-four, mostly mounted on different animals, and perhaps representing the gods of the Hindu Pantheon. This ceiling is represented on fig. 1, plate l, and may be compared with the examples at Aihoḷe already noticed (pl. ix), but to which it is much inferior.

CHAPTER XII.

INSCRIPTIONS.

By Professor G. Bühler, C.I.E., Vienna.

I. The Nânâghâṭ Inscriptions.

The Nânâghâṭ inscriptions, which belong to the oldest historical documents of Western India, and in some respects are more interesting and important than all the other cave inscriptions taken together, have not received hitherto much attention from Orientalists, though Colonel Sykes' imperfect copies have been available for many years, and excellent photolithographs were printed by Dr. Burgess some time ago. Probably the fragmentary preservation of the large inscription has deterred epigraphists from undertaking its explanation. Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl in his article on the coins of the Andhrabhṛityas[1] discusses, however, the general sense and bearing of Nos. I. and II., and gives particularly valuable hints regarding their connection with the six smaller coeval inscriptions. He has also given a list of the numeral signs which occur in I. and II., *ibidem* vol. xii, pp. 404–6.[2] His readings, however, do not always agree with the photolithographs. Before him Dr. Stevenson made some remarks on these documents,[3] which, as usual, speak more for his courage as a scientific pioneer than for his knowledge of the subject.

For the attempt at a translation and explanation of the Nânâghâṭ inscriptions, which I now offer, I have used, besides the photolithographs taken for Dr. Burgess by Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl, a photograph of the first half of the large inscription, also furnished to me by Dr. Burgess. As will appear in the sequel, this additional aid has proved to be very important for the beginning of line 3, and has enabled me to find what I think will be admitted to be the real connection of that fragment with those preserved in the following lines.

These inscriptions are found in a large cave at the top of the Nânâghâṭ, a pass which leads from the Koṅkaṇ to the ancient town of Junnar. Nos. I. and II. occupy the left and right side walls, while Nos. III.–VIII. are incised, as labels, above the heads of what have once been a number of portrait figures carved on the back wall.

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[1] *Jour. Bo. B. R. As. Soc.*, vol. xiii, pp. 303–316. Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl had engaged to supply translations of this and indeed of all the Cave Inscriptions, which were to have been ready nearly two years ago, but has failed to supply them in time even for this volume.—J. B.

[2] Also in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. vi, pp. 44, 45.

[3] *Jour. Bo. B. R. As. Soc.*, vol. v, p. 174.

Transcripts.

No. I.—A. *Left Wall.*

(1.) [Oṁ namo prajâpati]no Dhaṁmasa namo Îdasa namo Saṁkaṁsana-Vâsudevânaṁ Chaṁda-sûtânaṁ [mahi]mâ[v]atânaṁ chatuṁnaṁ chaṁ lokapâlânaṁ Yama-Varuna-Kubera-Vâsavâ naṁ namo kumâravarasa Vedisirisa ra[ñ]o[1]

(2.) . . . . [v]îrasa sûrasa apratihatachakasa Dakhi[ṇâpa]ṭha[patino] . . . .[2]

(3.) mâ . . . . [bâ]lâya mahâraṭhino Aṁgiya-kulavadhanasa sagaraṁgirivaravala[yâ]ya pathaviya pathamavîrasa vasa . . ya va alaha (?) . . . . salasu . ya mahato maha . .[3]

(4.) . . . . sirisa bhâriyâ devasa putradasa varadasa kâmadasa dhanadasa Vedisiri-mâtu Satino sirimatasa cha mâtuya sîma . . . . pathamaya . . .

(5.) variya . . . . â[n]âgavaradayiniya mâsopavâsiniya gahatâpasâya charitabrahmachariyâya dikhavratayaṁñasuṁdâya yañâ hutâ dhûpanasugaṁdhâ yaniya . . . . . .

(6.) râyasa . . . . [ya]ñehi yiṭhaṁ vano | Agâdheya-yaṁño dakhinâ dinâ gâvo bârasa 12 aso cha 1 Anârabhaniyo yaṁño dakhinâ dhenu . . . .

(7.) . . . . dakhinâyo dinâ gâvo 1700 hathî 10 . . . .

(8.) . . . . sa . . sasataraya [v]âsalaṭhi 289 kubhiyo rupâmayiyo 17 bhi . . . .[4]

(9.) . . . . riko yaṁño dakhinâyo dinâ gâvo 11,000 asâ 1,000 pasa[pako] . . . .

(10.) . . . . 12 gamavaro 1 dakhinâ kâhâpanâ 24,400 pasapako kâhâpanâ 6,001 Râja [sûya-yaṁño] . . . . sakaṭaṁ

No. II.—B. *Right Wall.*

(1.) dhaṁñagiritaṁsapayutaṁ sapaṭo 1 aso 1 asaratho 1 gâvînaṁ 100 Asamedho bitiyo [yi]ṭho dakhinâyo [di]nâ aso rupâla[ṁkâ]ro 1 suvaṁna . . . ni 12 dakhinâ dinâ kâhâpanâ [1]4,000 gâmo 1 ha[ṭhi] . . . . [dakhi]nâ dinâ[5]

(2.) gâvo . sakaṭaṁ dhaṁñagirita[ṁ]sapayutaṁ . . . . ovâyo yaṁño . . . . 17 dh[enu] ? . . vâya . satara sa[6]

(3.) . . . . 17 acha . . . . . . na . la ya . . . pasapako din[o] . . . . [dakhi]nâ dinâ su . . . pini 12 tesa rup[âlaṁ]kâro 1 dakhinâ kâhâpa[nâ] 10,000 . . . 2[7]

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[1] L. 1. In the beginning six or seven syllables have been lost. It is certain from the construction that the word *namo* must have stood before an adjective or noun qualifying *dhaṁmasa*, and it may be inferred from the usual practice observed in inscriptions that the first word was *Oṁ* or *Sidhaṁ*. The restoration [*prajâpati*]*no* rests on the fact that in the *Purâṇas* Dharma is one of the Prajâpatis. In *mahimâvatânaṁ* the top of the *ma* is visible, as well as the vowel *i* and the top of the *va*. For *chaṁ* read *cha*.

[2] L. 2. The restoration *Dakhinâpatha* seems to be certain, because the inscription was written in the Dekhan. The second part of the compound may have been *îsarasa*, *patino*, or *sâmino*.

[3] L. 3. The restoration *bâlâya* is based on the photograph, where the letter *la* is faintly, but still distinctly readable before *ya*.

[4] L. 8. Possibly *âsaḍaṭhi*, which, however, gives no sense. The last figure in 289 is not certain. Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl reads 189, but the 200 is plain on the facsimile and on the photograph. It is just possible that the sign read as 9 is a mutilated *da*, and belongs to *kubhiyo*. Dakubhiyo might mean *udakubhiyo*, "water-vessels." Read *rupimayiyo*. See Childers, *Pali Dict.* s. v. rûpi. L. 10. Read *gâmavaro*.

[5] L. 1. Possibly *kâhâpanâ* 24,000 may have been the original reading, for before 4,000 only Ṭ 1000 appears, and the determinative sign, which must have been 10 or 20, has been effaced.

[6] L. 2. The figure after *gâvo* is blurred on the facsimile. Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl reads it 60,000.

[7] L. 3. Probably *pasapako dino* is to be read. Probably some more figures followed after 10,000.

(4.) . . . . . . gâvo 20,000 [Bhaga]la-Dasarato yaṁño y[iṭho dakhinâ di]nâ[gâvo] 10,001 Gargatirato yaño yiṭho dakhinâ . . . . pasapako paṭâ 301 Gavâmayanaṁ yaṁño yiṭho[dakhinâ dinâ]gâvo 1101 . . . . gâvo 1100(?) pasapako kâhâpanâ . paṭâ 100 Atuyâmo yaṁño . . . .[1]

(5.) . . . . [Ga]vâmayanaṁ yañ[o] dakhinâ dinâ gâvo 1,101 Aṁgiras[â]mayanaṁ yaṁño yiṭho dakhinâ gâvo 1,101 ta . . . . [dakhinâ d]inâ gâvo 1101(?) Satâtiratam yaṁño . . . . 100 . . . . [ya]ño dakhinâ g[â]vo 1100 Aṁgirasa[ti]rato yaṁño yiṭho[dakhi]nâ gâ[vo . . . . .

(6). . . . . . . gâvo 1,002 Chhaṁdomapa[va]mâ[natirato] dakhinâ gâvo 1,001 Aṁg[i]ra[satira]to yaṁ[ño yi]ṭho da[khinâ] . . . . rato yiṭho yaño dakhinâ dinâ . . . . to yaṁño yiṭho dakhinâ . . . . yaṁño yiṭho dakhinâ dinâ gâvo 1001 . . . .

(7.) . . . . na . sayaṁ . . . . dakhinâ dinâ gâvo . . . . ta . . . . [Aṁ]gi[rasâ]mayanaṁ chhavasa . . . . [dakhi]nâ dinâ gâvo 1,000 . . . . dakhinâ dinâ gâvo 1,001 terasa . . . a

(8) . . . . Terasarato sa . . . . âga dakhinâ dinâ gâvo . . . . Dasarato ma . . . . [di]nâ gâvo 1,001 u . . . . 1,001 da . . . .

(9.) . . . . [ya]ño dakhinâ di[nâ] . . . .

(10.) . . . . [da]khinâ dinâ . . . .[2]

Translation.

A.—*Left Wall.*

1. "[*Om adoration*] to Dharma [*the Lord of created beings*]; adoration to Indra, adoration to Saṁkarshaṇa and Vâsudeva, the descendants of the Moon,[3] (*who are*) endowed with majesty, and to the four guardians of the world, Yama, Varuṇa, Kubera and Vâsava; praise to Vediśri, the best of royal princes! Of the king

2. ". . . . . of the brave hero, whose rule is unopposed, (of *the lord of*) the Dekhan . . . .

3. "By . . . . . the daughter of the Mahâraṭhi, the increaser of the Aṁgiya race, the first hero of the earth that is girdled by the ocean and the best of mountains . . . .[4]

[1] L. 4. The top, the sign for 1000 in 20,000, has been lost. The two letters *Bhaga* are not certain. The *r* in *garga* is not certain. The sign for 100 in 1101 is blurred, but the amount paid for the Gavâmayana mentioned in the next line is 1101.

[2] L. 10. It seems doubtful if the tenth line was the last.

[3] L. 1. Kṛishṇa and his elder brother Balarâma are remotely descended from the Moon, and the expression *sûtânaṁ*, literally "sons," must be taken in this sense. The form *sûta* for *suta* may be owing to a clerical mistake, or to a fissure in the rock, but in some of the modern Prâkṛits, *e.g.* in Gujarâtî, *sûta* is frequently used for *suta*. Among the guardians of the quarters Yama is named first, apparently because the inscription was written in the South. In my opinion the *mangalâcharaṇa* ends with the word *Vedisirisa*, "to Vediśri." It is hardly likely that that individual who is called "the best of royal princes" should immediately afterwards be mentioned as a king. It seems to me more probable that the word *raño*, "of the king," applies to another person, whose name is lost. To the same person apply the epithets also which are contained in the fragment of L. 2. It is impossible to say with certainty in what connection his name may have been introduced, but see the remarks below.

[4] L. 3. The fragments in line 3–5 form, it would seem, one sentence, the subject of which is *yañâ dhûpanasugaṁdhâ* (l. 5), "sacrifices odoriferous with incense," while the verb is *hutâ*, "were offered." The adjectives ending in the fem. instr. abl. gen. which precede the word *yañâ* qualified the queen who caused the sacrifices to be offered. The same person, it seems to me, is referred to by the words . . . *sirisa bhâriyâ*, "the wife of . . . sri," *Vedisirimâtu*, "the mother of Vedisiri," *Satino sirimatasa mâtuya* in line 4, and *bâlâya*, "the daughter of," in line 3. It is not uncommon in inscriptions that queens and other females are described by giving

4. "(*Who is the*) wife of . . . śrî,[1] the lord who gives sons, boons, (*the fulfilment of*) desires and wealth, (*who is the*) mother of Vediśrî and the mother of the illustrious Śakti . . . .

5. "Who gave a . . . most excellent (*image of*) a snake (*deity*),[2] who fasted during a whole month, who (*even*) in her house (*lived like*) an ascetic, who remained chaste, who is well acquainted with initiatory ceremonies, vows and offerings,—sacrifices, odoriferous with incense, were offered . . . .

6. "of the king . . . . sacrifices were offered. Description — An Agnyâdheya sacrifice (*was offered*), a sacrificial fee was given (*consisting of*) twelve, 12, cows and 1 horse;—an Anvârambhaniya sacrifice (*was offered*), the sacrificial fee (*consisted of*) . .[3] milch-cows . . . .

7. ". . . . . sacrificial fees were given (*consisting of*) 1700 cows, 10 elephants . . . .

8. ". . . . . 289 (?) . . 17 silver waterpots . . . .[4] . . . .

9. ". . . . . a rika-sacrifice, sacrificial fees were given (*consisting of*) 11,000 cows, 1000 horses . . . .

10. ". . . . . 12 . . ., 1 excellent village, an(*other*) sacrificial fee (*consisted of*) 24,400 Kârshâpaṇas, (*the gifts to*) the spectators and menials (*consisted of*) 6,001 Kârshâpaṇas; a Râja[sûya-sacrifice] . . . . the cart[5]

first their descent, next their position as married women, then the names of their sons, and last an enumeration of their virtues. If this conjecture as to the connexion of the three fragments is correct, it will, however, be necessary to alter *bhâriyâ* in line 4, which stands in the nominative case, to *bhariyâya*, the instrumental, and *Vedisirimâtu*, a genitive, to *Vedisirimâtuya*, the instrumental. The name of the pious queen has been lost. Regarding the meaning of the word *Mahâraṭhi* see my remarks on Kârle No. 20, *Reports*, vol. iv, p. 107. "The best of mountains" is either the Himâlaya or the Vindhya.

[1] L. 4. The name of the king whose queen is here described is, unfortunately, mutilated. As the remnant *°sirisa* shows, it ended, like the names of some other Andhra kings, in *śrî*. *Satino* undoubtedly corresponds to Sanskrit *Sakteḥ*, and we have here the proof that the Śaktikumâra who is frequently mentioned in the legends regarding Vikramâditya and Sâtavâhana as a son of the latter, really was a historical person; compare also Prof. Jacobi on the *Vîracharita*, in Weber's *Indische Studien*, ch. xiv, pp. 108 *seqq.*

[2] L. 5. The translation of *nâgavaradayiniya*, "who gave a most excellent image of a snake deity," is of course uncertain, because the word may be mutilated in the beginning, and because *nâga* means also "elephant" and *vara* "a boon."

[3] L. 6. [*Ya*]*ñehi yiṭhaṁ* corresponds to Sanskrit *yajñair ishṭam*, and is the impersonal passive construction. In the original there is a larger blank space left after *yiṭhaṁ*, which indicates that one part of the inscription is finished. The word *vano*, which opens the second part, corresponds to Sanskrit *varṇa* (*praśasti*), and has to be taken as an equivalent of the common Jaina *vaṇṇao*, which is used in order to imply that the conventional description of a person or thing mentioned has been left out, and must be supplied by the reader. It may be translated by "description" or "details." The horizontal stroke which follows *vano* is a stop, and used frequently in ancient inscriptions for the single or double vertical stroke | or ||, which latter occur both on ancient monuments and in modern MSS. The Agnyâdheya, "the kindling of the sacred fires," precedes all Śrauta sacrifices. It is followed by the Anvârambhaniyeshṭi, called in the text Anârambhaniyo yaṁño.

[4] L. 8. I leave *vâsalaṭhi* untranslated. The corresponding Sanskrit word *vâsayashṭi* means "a perch" for peacocks and other birds. It seems hardly likely that the same object is meant here. Regarding the figure compare the note to the transcript. The text has plainly *rupâmayiyo*, but *rûpimayiyo* is required (see Childers, *Pali Dict.* s. v. *rûpi.*)

[5] L. 10. In several cases the word *dakkhinâ*, "sacrificial fee," occurs more than once in connection with the same sacrifice. Probably the several sets of officiating priests received in these cases separate gifts. *Pasapako*, "the presents to the spectators and menials," corresponds to Sanskrit *prasarpaka*, literally "one who approaches." The latter word is used as a technical term for the spectators and menials who assisted at the sacrifices (see the *Pet. Dict.* s. voce). It is evident from the context and from the phrase *pasapako din*[*o*] in l. 3 that in this inscription "the presents given to" such persons are intended, and that *pasapako* stands for *prâsarpaka*.

B.—*Right Wall.*

1. "Used for conveying a mountain of grain, 1 excellent dress, 1 horse, 1 horse-chariot, 100 kine. A second horse-sacrifice was offered; sacrificial fees were given (*consisting of*) 1 horse with silver trappings, 12 golden . . ., an(*other*) sacrificial fee was given (*consisting of*) 14,000 (?) Kârshâpaṇas, 1 village . . elephant . . . ., a sacrificial fee was given[1]

2. . . . cows, the cart used for conveying a mountain of grain . . . . . . an . . OVÂYA sacrifice . . . . 17 milch cows (?) . .

3. . . . . 17 . . . . presents to the spectators were given . . . . a sacrificial fee was given (*consisting of*) 12 . . . . . 1 (*set of*) silver ornaments for them, an(*other*) sacrificial fee was given consisting of 10,000 Kârshâpaṇas . . . .

4. . . . . 20,000(?) cows; a Bhagala-Daśarâtra sacrifice was offered, a sacrificial fee was given (*consisting of*) 10,001 cows; a Gargatrirâtra sacrifice was offered . . . . the presents to the spectators and menials (*consisted of*) 301 dresses; a Gavâmayana was offered, a sacrificial fee was given (*consisting of*) 1,101 cows, a . . sacrifice, the sacrificial fee (*consisted of*) 1,100 (?) cows, the presents to the spectators and menials (*consisted of*) . . Kârshâpaṇas, 100 dresses; an Âptoryâma sacrifice (was offered) . . . .[2]

5. . . . . . .; a Gavâmayana sacrifice was offered, a sacrificial fee was given (*consisting of*) 1,101 cows; an Angirasâmayana sacrifice was offered, a sacrificial fee was given (*of*) 1,101 cows; . . . . (*a sacrificial fee*) was given (*consisting of*) 1,101 cows; a Satâtirata sacrifice . . . . 100 . . . .; . . . sacrifice was offered, the sacrificial fee (*consisted of*) 1,100 cows; an Ângirasatrirâtra sacrifice was offered; the sacrificial fee (*consisted of*) . . . cows . . . . .[3]

6. . . . . 1,002 cows; a Chhandomapavamânatrirâtra sacrifice was offered, the sacrificial fee . . . .; a . . . . râtra sacrifice was offered, a sacrificial fee was given . . . . . .; a . . . . tra sacrifice was offered, a sacrificial fee . . . .; a . . . . sacrifice was offered, a sacrificial fee was given (*consisting of* 1,001 cows . . . .[4]

7.) . . . .; a sacrificial fee was given (*consisting of*) . . . cows . . . .; an Angirasâmayana, of six years (*duration*) . . . ., a sacrificial fee was given, (*consisting of*) 1,000 cows . . . . (*a sacrificial fee*) was given (*consisting of*) 1,001 cows, thirteen . . . .

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[1] L. 1. The grain used for the sacrifices is brought to the sacrificial enclosure in a bullock-cart, which afterwards is made over to the priests. Hence a cart is twice enumerated among the fees. The sense of *taṁsa*, "conveying," seems to be clear from the context, but its etymology is not certain. The Prakrit dictionaries and grammars give *taṁsa* as an equivalent of *tirichha* (*tiryak*) and *tryasra*, which do not answer in this case. Possibly *taṁsa* may be here a noun of action, derived from the root *taṁs*, "to move, to shake." *Sapaṭo* stands for Sanskrit *satpaṭṭa*, "an excellent dress or piece of cloth" (see also below, line 4). I take *gâvînaṁ* for the gen. pl. of *gâvî*, "a cow," governed by *sataṁ*, "one hundred," which is expressed by a figure only. The expression "a second horse-sacrifice" shows that the last sacrifice mentioned, the name of which has been lost, must also have been a horse-sacrifice.

[2] L. 4. I am not able to find the *Bhagaladaśarâtra* in the Srauta-sûtras. But as Bhagala is the name of an ancient Brahmanical teacher, it is not improbable that a rite, called after him, existed. Regarding the *Gargatrirâtra*, see *Âśvalâyana Śrauta-sûtra*, x. 2, 6. The Gavâmayana is one of the Sattras, or sacrificial sessions. The Âptoryâma is a well-known Soma sacrifice.

[3] L. 5. The Angirasâmayana is also a Sattra. I leave the name *Satâtirata* in its Prakrit form, because I am unable to identify it in the *Śrauta-sûtras*. Regarding the Ângirasatrirâtra, see *Âsv. Śrauta sûtra*, ii, 2, 1.

[4] L. 6. Regarding the *Chhandomapavamânatrirâtra*, see *Pet. Dict.*, s. v. *Chhandoma*.

8.) . . . . a Trayodaśarâtra . . . . a sacrificial fee was given, (*consisting of*) . . . cows . . . . a Daśarâtra . . . . a . . . . sacrifice, a sacrificial fee was given (*consisting of*) 1001 cows . . . .[1]

9–10. . . . .[2]

No. 3—

This and the following five inscriptions are incised on the back-wall of the Nânâghâṭ Cave, above the positions of the heads of what were relievo figures now entirely destroyed.

Râyâ Simuka—Sâtavâhano sirimâto.

—"King Simuka Sâtavâhana, the illustrious one."[3]

No. 4—

Devi-Nâyanikâya raño cha
Siri-Sâtakanino.

—"(*The images*) of the Queen, Nâganikâ, and the King, the illustrious Sâtakarṇi."[4]

No. 5—

Kumâro Bhâya . . . . .[5]

—"The Royal prince Bhâya . . ."

No. 6—

Mahâraṭhi *Tr*anakayiro.[6]

—"The Mahâraṭhi (*feudal baron*) Tranakayira."

No. 7—

Kumaro Hakusiri.

—"The Royal prince Hakusiri."[7]

No. 8—

Kumâro Sâtavâhano.

—"The Royal prince Sâtavâhana."

No. 9—Over a cistern near the large cave. This inscription is much later than the preceding ones, and belongs to the times of Gautamîputra Sâtakarṇi I. or Puḷumâyi.

Sopârayakasa Govimdadâsasa
deyadhama poḍhi.

—"A cistern, the meritorious gift of Govindadâsa, an inhabitant Śorpâraka (Sûpârâ)."[8]

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[1] L. 8. Regarding the *Trayodaśarâtra* sacrifice, *Âśv. Śr. sû.* xi, 2, 1.

[2] L. 9–10. The only fragments remaining are not worth translating. It is, however, very uncertain if the inscription ended with line 10.

[3] Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl takes the word *Simuka* as an equivalent of Sanskrit *śrîmukha*, and attributes to it the same sense as to *bhâdramukha* in the Jasdan pillar inscription. The objection to this exceedingly ingenious explanation is, that *śrî* in all the Prâkrits invariably becomes *sirî*, or *siri*, and *mukha* either remains *mukha*, or becomes *mugha* or *muha*. It seems to me, also, that the adjective *sirimâto, i.e., sirimanto, śrîmân*, which follows the name, makes a *śrîmukha* superfluous, and its employment improbable. A different solution of the difficulty is suggested by the fact that Indian kings often have double names, the first being the real name, and the second either a family name, or a so-called *Biruda*. To the first kind belongs, *e.g.*, the familiar instance Pṛithvîrâj Chohân, and to the second the equally well-known Jesingh Sidhrâj. In the same manner it might be that *Simuka* was the proper name of this king, and Sâtavâhana his family name or *Biruda*. That there are good reasons for considering this view to be the correct one will be shown below in the remarks on these inscriptions.

[4] Nâyanikâ, in S. Nâganikâ, is a double diminutive from S. nâga, "a snake."

[5] The name was probably Bhâyala, as a female name Bhayilâ occurs at Kuḍâ, inscription No. 12.

[6] The first letter of the name is not certain. It may be also read as *va* or *bha*. I cannot give a transliteration of the whole into Sanskrit, but think that the syllables *ayiro* correspond to Sankrit *ârya*. Regarding the meaning of the title *Mahâraṭhi*, see Kârle, inscription No. 20.

[7] Hakusiri, which, according to the method of spelling used in the ancient inscriptions, may stand for Hakkusiri, would correspond exactly to Sanskrit Saktuśrî, "he whose glory is the (*sacrificial*) barley-flour." But it will be shown below in the remarks that it is probably a corruption of *Śaktiśrî*.

[8] See *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xi, p. 236.

Remarks.

Owing to the mutilation of Nos. I. and II. the inquiry into the bearing of the Nânâghâṭ inscriptions on the early history of the Dekhan presents very considerable difficulties, and its results must always remain open to adverse criticism, in a higher degree even than those deduced from other documents of the same class, because more conjectures and speculative combinations are necessarily required in order to obtain them. But it seems to me that a complete and minute analysis of the contents of these documents, and a careful utilisation of the information available in other inscriptions and in the Purâṇik accounts of the Southern dynasties, permits a combination of the fragments into a self-consistent story and a fuller solution of the riddles which they offer than might be expected at a first glance.

The fundamental principles on which the inquiry must be based are those three, the importance of which Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl has already recognised, and which he has in part, at least, correctly applied in his article on the coins of the Andhrabhṛityas. First, it must be assumed that the royal personages mentioned in the large inscriptions (Nos. I. and II.) are identical with or intimately connected with those represented in the broken relievos on the back wall of the cave, and named in the six small inscriptions accompanying them. Secondly, it must be acknowledged that they refer to the same dynasty, which has left records of its deeds and its liberality towards the Bauddha monks in the caves of Kârle, Nâsik, and Kaṇheri, and on the Amarâvatî stûpa, and which the *Purâṇas* call Andhras or Andhrabhṛityas. Thirdly, it must be conceded that the characters of the Nânâghâṭ inscriptions belong to a period anterior by about 100 years to that of the edicts of Gautamîputra Sâtakarṇi I. and his son Vâsishṭhîputra Puḷumâyi.

As regards the first proposition, its probability is very great on account of the fact that the same cave contains the two sets of inscriptions, and that, as the characters show, both belong to the same period. What can be more natural than the assumption that the relievos are intended as illustrations of the large inscription, especially as the most superficial comparison of the labels over the heads of the figures with the large inscription shows that the former represent two kings, a queen, a Mahârathi, and three royal princes, while the fragments of the latter certainly mention a queen, one or possibly two kings, a Mahârathi, and at least two princes? This probability gains considerably by the analogous custom pointed out by Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl, according to which both Bauddha and Jaina founders, restorers, and benefactors of temples, set up so-called Śâlikâs, *i.e.*, their own and their relatives' statues in the sacred precincts, grouping the images according to the various generations.[1] The occurrence of this practice in such widely distant countries as Gujarât and Nepâl, permits us to infer that once it was universal all over India. Traces of it, I think, are also found in other Western caves, *e.g.*, at Kârle and Kuḍâ, where figures of kings and queens are introduced, which look very much as if they were intended for portraits. But in order to make the connection between the two sets of inscriptions and the figures really convincing, it is necessary to show that at least the number and the characters of the persons named in them actually correspond. To prove the identity or correspondence of all the names is, of course, impossible, because the majority of those in Nos. I. and II. have been lost or mutilated. Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl, who has partly attempted this task in the article quoted above, arrives at the conclusion that the male figures with the short

[1] Examples are found in some of Vastupâla's temples, *e.g.*, at Âbû.

inscriptions represent three generations of the Andhra dynasty. 1. King Sâtavâhana. 2. King Sâtakarṇi. 3. The sons of the latter, the Kumâras or royal princes Bhâya[la] Hakusiri and Sâtavâhana. He further identifies King Sâtakarṇi with the royal prince (*kumâra*) Vedisiri, and believes that the latter is referred to also by the word *raño* "of the king" (at the end of line 1), and is described as a Mahârathi and "increaser of the Aṁgiya race" (line 3). The latter name he is inclined to correct to Andhiya, and to take as an equivalent of a Sanskrit adjective Andhriya,[1] derived from Andhra. Finally, he assumes that Vedisiri-Sâtakani was the person who caused the inscriptions to be incised.

I regret that I am unable to agree with a portion of my learned friend's remarks, and must differ from him on all his deductions, except that the relievos and their headings refer to three generations. In favour of the latter point particularly is the circumstance that the first king and the last Kumâra bear the same name, and that it is usual among the Hindûs to name the grandson after his grandfather. The distribution of the persons named in these three generations, on the other hand, cannot be correct, for Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl entirely forgets No. VI., the Mahârathi Tranakayiro, and neglects to notice the circumstance that this individual is placed between the Kumâra Bhâya[la] (No. V.) and the Kumâras Hakusiri and Sâtavâhana. The latter circumstance makes it highly improbable that the three Kumâras belong to one and the same generation. As a stranger is introduced after Kumâra Bhâya[la], it is more likely that this prince belonged to the second generation, and, in fact, was a brother of king Sâtakani. This conjecture would become almost a certainty if it could be shown that the Mahârathi was not a son of Sâtakani, but closely connected with him in some other way. An analysis of the contents of the first part of the large inscription will, I think, show in what relation the Mahârathi Tranakayiro stood to Sâtakani, and furnish further proof that the third generation consisted of two members only. It will also make evident that Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl makes too much of Kumâra Vedisiri, and errs in identifying him with King Sâtakani.

In considering the contents of the large inscription the first question is, Who is the chief person in it? Now, the central figure is a queen, whose name has been lost. Line 3 gives her parentage, deriving it from a Mahârathi, "the increaser of the Aṁgiya race," whose name is also lost. Line 4 states that she was the wife of a king, whose name ended in . . . *siri*, and that her two sons were Vedisiri and Sati. Line 5, finally, gives a catalogue of her virtues, asserts that she was "well acquainted with initiatory ceremonies (*dikhâ*), vows (*vrata*), and sacrifices (*yaña*), and contains the very important information that "sacrifices were offered by her (*yañâ hutâ*)." Thus, she and her affairs occupy three out of the five lines and a half over which the first part of the document extends, and it is said of her that she performed, or caused to be performed, those very acts, with the enumeration of which the second part of the inscription is filled. As another sentence ending in *yañehi yiṭhaṁ*, "sacrifices were offered," followed the phrase *yañâ hutâ* and immediately preceded the word *vano*, "description" or "details," it is of course possible to demur to the conclusion that the queen caused the particular sacrifices named in the description to be offered, and to contend that some other male agent was named in the last portion. Though it might, further, be urged in favour of such a conjecture that, according to the *Śâstras*, women are not allowed to offer Śrauta sacrifices, and that Brâhmaṇas who perform such sacrifices for them (*strîyâjaka*)

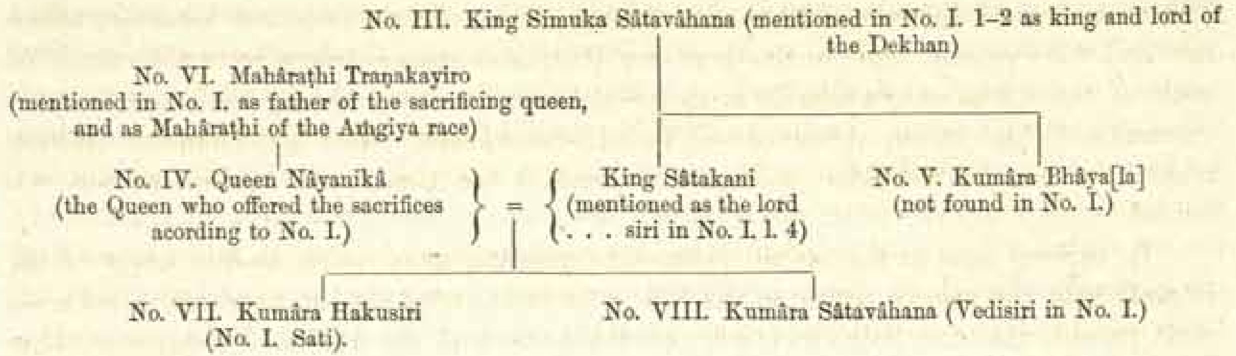
[1] An adjective *Andhriya*, is, however, not traceable in Sanskrit, where *andhra*, *ândhra*, and *andhraka* alone occur.

are severely blamed, yet that seems hardly probable, for in the sentence which ends with *yañehi yiṭhaṁ*, "sacrifices were offered," we have the impersonal passive construction and the genitive *râyasa* "of the king" (l. 6, first word). It is for this reason not likely that the clause contained any personal agent. Further, though in general Brahmans are forbidden to act as priests for women, that prohibition does not apply to queens who may be conducting the government of a state, either independently or for minor sons. In that case the disabilities attaching to the sex are removed by the position which the female occupies.[1] Now, it seems to me that the queen described in the large inscription must have been ruling as guardian of her son, the prince Vedisiri. For though, as has been shown, she is the chief person in the inscription, "the best of royal princes," Vedisiri is addressed in line 1 with *namo*, "adoration to" or "praise to," and treated with the same reverence as the gods invoked in the beginning of the *mangalâcharana*. That fact points to his occupying a privileged and particularly high position. Further, in the enumeration of the queen's virtues (line 5), it is asserted that she "lived (even) in her home like an ascetic" (*gahatâpasâ*), and "remained chaste" (*charitabramhachariyâ*). Such behaviour befits a widow only, not a wife whose husband is living. A widow must, as is well known, never violate the duty which she owed to her husband, and it is particularly prescribed that she shall emaciate herself by fasts and other austerities. A married wife, on the other hand, has no business with such practices, and the duty of conjugal intercourse is incumbent on her. Hence, it seems that the two epithets *gahatâpasâ* and *charitabramhachariyâ* clearly indicate that the king was dead. If that was the case, the conclusion that the widowed queen ruled during the minority of her son, and that that son was Vedisiri, follows from the *namaskâra* addressed to him. If these combinations are admitted, the large inscription mentions—1. A defunct king whose name ended in . . . siri. 2. His widowed queen (name lost). 3. The father of the queen, a Mahâraṭhi (name lost) of the Aṁgiya race; 4, 5, two sons of 1 and 2, the prince Vedisiri and the illustrious Sati. But there is still one line (2) which has not been taken into account. The fragment remaining speaks of a "brave heroic lord of the Dekhan whose rule was undisputed," and if the last word *raño* in line 1 is,—as in my opinion must be,—connected with the words in line 2, it appears that he was a king. The individual referred to cannot have been the Mahâraṭhi mentioned in line 2. The construction forbids this, because the word *bâlâya* stands before *mahâraṭhino*. Moreover, as stated above, *Mahâraṭhi* was a title belonging to a feudal baron, and had a meaning similar to the title *Mahâsâmanta*. This follows clearly from the fact that in Kârle No. 20 the Mahâraṭhi of the Okhaḷakiyas dates according to the regnal years of Puḷumâyi. Again, the word *raño* and the fragment of line 2 cannot be connected with the preceding genitive *Vedisirisa*, because it is clearly impossible that a person who is called a royal prince, can at the same time receive the title "king" and be said to be the lord paramount of the Dekhan. Thus the only course is to assume that the words in question refer to a sixth individual, a second king, who, as his name stands before that of the consort of the pious sacrificer, either was his father or remoter ancestor.

If we now turn to the persons mentioned in the small inscriptions, it is clear that the number and the character attributed to each correspond almost exactly with those in the larger. They may be arranged as follows :—

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[1] For the fact that queens ruled in India, compare *Râjatarangiṇî*, i, 70 ; vi, 313 *seqq.* and the grants of Queen Vijayabhaṭṭârikâ of the Chalukya race, *Jour. Bo. Br. As. Soc.*, vol. iii, p. 203 ; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. vii, p. 163.



The only difficulties which remain are (1) the discrepancy between the name Sâtakani (No. IV.) and that ending in . . . siri (No. I.), (2) the discrepancy between the names of the two princes in Nos. VII. and VIII. and in No. I. Now, it must be noted that Sâtakani is not a proper name, but a *Biruda* or title, and that we have, at least, one certain case where a king who was called Sâtakani had a second name containing the word—SIRI, in that of the second Gautamîputra of the Nâsik and Kaṇheri inscriptions, whose complete name is in Prakrit Gotamiputa Siri-Yaña Sâtakaṁṇi. The fact that the name of the second king in No. II. ends in . . . siri, and in No. IV. is Sâtakani, is, therefore, no obstacle to their identification. As regards the names of the Kumâras the case is somewhat different. The Sanskrit form of the name of the prince called in No. I. "the illustrious Sati" is undoubtedly Śakti. The Prakrit word is the regular representative of Śakti, and we know, from the legendary history of Sâtavâhana,[1] that a Śaktikumâra belonged to his line. Though in general I do not attribute any historical value to those legends, yet I think it cannot be denied that they have correctly preserved some of the names of the persons whose lives they pretend to describe. Now, if Śakti is the Sanskrit etymon of Sati, it is quite possible that *Haku*, which, according to the method of spelling adopted in the old inscriptions, may stand for *Hakku*, is another stronger Prakrit corruption of Śakti.[2] It ought not to be objected that, even admitting the philological possibility of the identification of Sati and Hakku, it is improbable that two such different forms should be used to designate the same individual in two closely allied inscriptions. For, to judge from the examples furnished by other ancient Prakrit inscriptions, the Hindus did not hesitate to vary the forms of names even in one and the same inscription. Thus we find in Nasik No. 14 the forms Puḷumâyi, and in the postscript No. 15 Puḷumavi, and Bhadâvaniya in No. 14 against Bhadâyaniya in No. 15. Similarly in the Jaggagyapeṭṭâ inscriptions (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. xi, p. 256), where a number of names occur formed with the word *nâga*, "snake," we find sometimes *nâga* and sometimes *nâka* employed. Under these circumstances I not only take Sati and Haku to denote the same person, but to be two different forms of the same name. If the illustrious Sati and Prince Hakusiri are one, it follows that Vedisiri is another name of Sâtavâhana, and it must be noted that Sâtavâhana is just as little a proper name as Sâtakani, but either a family name or a *Biruda*. It will be observed that the order in which the two

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[1] See *e.g.* Jacobi on the *Vîracharita*, Weber, *Ind. Stud.*, vol. xiv, p. 103.

[2] The change of *sa* to *ha* is not at all uncommon; see Kuhn, *Pâligrammatik*, p. 45, 53 (where Pâli *suṇisâ*, *suṇhâ*, and *husâ* for Sanskrit *snushâ* ought to be compared), and the common name *Haṁgha* in the Amarâvatî inscriptions for *Saṁgha*; that of *kta* to *kka* is just as usual as that of *kta* to *tta*. And there are at least some instances where final *u* appears for *i*; *e.g.* in *Teraṇhu* (Nâsik inscriptions, Nos. 11 B, 15, 18) for *Trîraśmi*. See also Kuhn, *ibidem*, p. 25.

princes are named differs in the two sets of inscriptions. In the large one Vedisiri stands first and Sati second, while in the short one Hakusiri appears before Sâtavâhana. The cause of this discrepancy probably is that Sati-Haku was the elder by birth, but that the succession to the throne devolved on Vedisiri-Sâtavâhana, either for unknown political reasons, or because the elder brother was dead at the time when the inscription was incised.

In turning now to the second point—the question as to which Andhra kings of the Purâṇik lists, the princes named in the Nânâghâṭ inscriptions have to be identified with,—I must premise that the link which connects the latter with the Andhra dynasty consists in the names Sâtavâhana and Sâtakani. From the Nasik inscriptions Nos. 1 and 14 we learn that Kṛishṇa, Puḷumâyi, and Gautamîputra Sâtakaṇi I. call themselves members of the "race of Sâtavâhana," and these same kings belong, according to the *Purâṇas*, to the dynasty of the Andhras or Andhrabhṛityas. Again, the title or *Biruda* Sâtakaṁṇi is given in the cave inscriptions to several members of the Sâtavâhana family, and in the Purâṇik lists, its Sanskrit original, Sâtakarṇi or Śâtakarṇi, appears repeatedly as the name of Andhra kings. Moreover, it has not hitherto been found applied to any other princes but those of the Sâtavâhana-Andhra family, and its use seems to be confined to them. Under these circumstances we may safely infer that wherever we find kings or royal princes bearing the appellation Sâtavâhana or Sâtakani they presumably belong to the Andhra dynasty of the *Purâṇas*, and may be looked for in the lists of those works. Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl, acting on this principle, identifies the first king of the Nânâghâṭ inscriptions with the thirteenth king of the *Matsya Purâṇa*, called Kuntalasvâti, and the second with the fourteenth of the same list, Svâtikarṇa. In favour of the first conjecture he adduces the fact that Vâtsyâyana's *Kâmasûtra* speaks of a Kuntalasvâmin-Śâtakarṇi-Śâtavâhana, and he thinks that probably Kuntalasvâmin was a second name of Sâtavâhana. The name Svâtikarṇa is, in his opinion, a corruption of Sâtakarṇi. The basis of this identification is obviously very unsafe, and the Paṇḍit's conjecture becomes very improbable if it is borne in mind that the Nânâghâṭ inscription gives not merely Sâtavâhana, but Simuka Sâtavâhana as the name of the first king. I have already stated why I cannot accept Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl's explanation of Simuka by *śrîmukha*, "of glorious face," and that Simuka probably is a part of the king's name, because the adjective *sirimâto*, "the illustrious one," stands at the end of the inscription, and hence no other adjective of the same or similar import is required. But if Simuka is the proper name, it is not difficult to find in the lists of the *Purâṇas* the person named in the Nânâghâṭ inscription. Simuka-Sâtavâhana is in all probability the first king of the list of the Andhra monarchs, whose name is never given alike in any two works, but according to three *Purâṇas* begins with a *si* or *śi*; according to two, contains in the second syllable the vowel *u*; and according to all, ends in *ka*. The *Vâyu Purâṇa* calls the founder of the Andhra dynasty Sindhuka, the *Matsya Purâṇa* Śiśuka, the *Vishṇu Purâṇa* Śipraka and the *Brahmâṇḍa Purâṇa* Chhismaka.[1] Now this divergence of the authorities clearly proves that the name was one

[1] Wilson, *Vishṇup.* (ed. Hall, vol. iv, p. 194). Prof. Wilson's assertion that the *Bhâgavata* calls the founder of the Andhra dynasty *Balin* is a mistake. For the word *bali*, which occurs in the verse quoted, must be taken as an adjective, not as a proper name. The real name of the "powerful Śûdra servant of the Andhra race" has been left out. Wilford's assertion that the first Andhra is called Śûdraka in the *Kumârikâ Khaṇḍa* I doubt, for I have not found it in the copy which I have examined. But even if Wilford were right, the authority of the

which did not readily give any sense if taken as a Sanskrit name, but had a strange, un-Sanskritic form. Hence the copyists blundered badly, and correctors tried to make a Sanskrit word of the unmeaning syllables. To this desire we owe the form Kshipraka (lit., "the swift one"), which, according to Dr. F. E. Hall, occurs in some copies of the *Vishṇu Purâṇa*, the form Śiśuka (lit., "the infant"), and Sindhuka (lit., "born on the Indus." But patent as the fact is that the name of the first Andhra king is badly corrupted in all the *Purâṇas* which give it, there is not one form among those given which might be safely regarded as the original of the others, while it is not too much to say all that can be easily traced to misspellings of *Simuka* or *Śimuka*. The reading of the Vâyu, Sindhuka or Siṁdhuka goes back to Simuka, Śipraka, and Śiśuka to Śimuka, while Chhismaka, the reading of the *Brahmâṇḍa*, which still preserves the *ma*, owes its initial *chha* to a bad pronunciation of *śa*. Everybody who is conversant with Devanâgarî MSS. will know how common the graphical mistakes which I here impute to the scribes really are. As regards the two forms Śimuka and Simuka, they are for a Hindu, who, if he is not a grammarian, constantly exchanges these two sibilants, and especially before *i* and *e* in many districts always pronounces *ś* for *s*, perfectly identical. Similarly the forms Śâtavâhana and Sâtavâhana, Śâtakarṇi and Sâtakarṇi, Vaśishṭha and Vasishṭha, Śâṅkhâyana and Sâṅkhâyana frequently occur in the same work, and it is difficult to decide in such cases, except where the etymology is perfectly certain, which form is the original one. In the case of Simuka it is possible that the form with *s* is the older one, as the word might be derived by the affix *uka* (like *pṛithuka*, *ṛidhuka*, *kramuka*, &c.) from the rare root *syam*, which according to the grammarians means "to go," "to make a noise," and "to examine" or "consider." *Simuka* might thus mean like the familiar name *Rudra*, "the roarer." But it is also possible that the Prakrit Simuka is a strongly corrupted Apabhraṁśa or Deśî word. Be that as it may be, the identification of Simuka Sâtavâhana with the Sindhuka, Śipraka, &c., of the *Purâṇas*, is not affected by the etymological question. But there are other facts connected with the statements of the inscriptions and of the *Purâṇas* which support the identification. First, if Simuka is the founder of the Andhra dynasty, the fact that he bears the second name Sâtavâhana, agrees well with the fact that the inscriptions give Sâtavâhana-kula "the race of Sâtavâhana" as the family name of the Andhra kings. Secondly, according to the *Purâṇas*, the founder of the Andhra dynasty was succeeded by his brother Kṛishṇa (who appears in the Nâsik inscription No. 1 as Kaṇha), and the latter by his son Sâtakarṇi or Śâtakarṇi. The second king of our short inscriptions is the illustrious Sâtakani. Now it happens not unfrequently in Indian inscriptions that the genealogy is not given completely, and even important members are left out.[1] Even supposing, therefore, that the Purâṇik account of the order in which the first three Andhras followed one another is correct, there is no obstacle in the usages observed in Hindu inscriptions that prevents us from taking Simuka Sâtavâhana as the paternal uncle of Sâtakani.

The third argument in favour of the view that these inscriptions belong to the earliest times of the Andhras is furnished by the alphabet. If we compare the characters of the

Kumârikâ Khaṇḍa, which appears to be a compilation of the 14th or 15th century A.D. (see my notes, *Bombay Gazetteer*, "Cambay"), would be of no value. Elsewhere (see, *e.g.*, *Ind. Stud.*, vol. xiv, p. 105) Śûdraka is called a minister of Sâtavâhana.

[1] See *Ind. Ant.*, vol. vi, pp. 60, 184; and vii, 66, where in a grant of Guhasena of Valabhî the name of his father Dharapaṭṭa has been left out.

Nânâghâṭ inscriptions with those used by the later Andhra kings, Gautamîputra, Sâtakarṇi I., and Puḷumâyi, at Nâsik and Kârle, the former show the following constant peculiarities, which consist in—(1) the absence of a thickening or small horizontal line or serif at the top of letters which begin with or consist of a vertical stroke, like *ka*, *pa*, *ra*, *va*, &c.; (2) the absence of curves in the lower portions of the letters *ka* and *ra*; (3) the roundness of the letters *pa*, *ya*, *la*, and *ha*, which in the later inscriptions are angular; (4) the form of the letter *da*, which consists of a small vertical top stroke, a deep irregular curve open to the left, and a small vertical stroke at the bottom, which latter, in the later inscriptions, has been changed to a horizontal stroke turned to the right; (5) the form of the letter *chha*, which consists of a circle divided by a long vertical line, while the later inscriptions show two small circles joined together, with a very short vertical over the junction or over the first circle; (6) the use of the symbol *su* for 100 instead of the symbol *śu*. All these peculiarities are archaic, because they agree with the oldest form of the Southern Indian alphabet, *i.e.*, that which the Mauryas use. A number of other letters vary in their forms and sometimes agree with the Maurya characters, and sometimes with those of the later Andhras. In some cases we find other variations which are not traceable elsewhere; thus the initial *a* has the Maurya form in *apratihatachakasa* (No. I. l. 2), and in *aṁgiya* (No. I. l. 4), the later Andhra form in *aso* (No. I. l. 6) and *aso* (No. II. l. 1), and an unusual shape in *asaratho* (No. II. l. 1), *aṁgirasâm* (No. II. l. 5), &c., where the two left hand strokes are curved upwards and downwards. Again, *va*, *cha*, and *ma* usually show the round Maurya forms, but the first is angular, *e.g.* in *devânaṁ* (No. I. l. 1), in *variya* (beginning of No. I. l. 5), and in *devi* (No. IV.), the second has the later shape in *cha* (No. IV.), and the third is angular, *e.g.* in *dhaṁmasa* (No. I. l. 1). Finally, the letters *ga* and *ta* usually agree with those of Puḷumâyi's inscriptions. But in *sagara* (No. I. l. 3), and still more in *aṁgira[tira]to* (No. II. l. 6), the *ga* has the angular form used by the Mauryas. The same remark applies to the *ta* of *satino* (No. I. l. 4), *dhaṁñagiritaṁsa* (No. II. l. 2), and a few other cases.

The inferences as to age drawn from these facts will be considered further on. For the present it will suffice to point out that, according to the epigraphical evidence, these documents may be placed a little but not much later than Aśoka's and Daśaratha's edicts. But what, in my opinion, most clearly proves that they belong to one of the first Andhras is that their graphic peculiarities fully agree with those of the Nâsik inscription (No. 1) of Kaṇha or Kṛishṇa's reign. In the latter we have the same forms of *da*, *ka*, *ja*, *ra*, *la*, *va* and *ha*, the same absence of the thickening or serifs at the top of the vertical strokes, and the same vacillation as to the form of *ta* and *ma*. This complete identity of the characters very strongly corroborates my view that the Sâtakarṇi whose wife caused the Nânâghâṭ inscriptions to be incised is the Sâtakarṇi whom the *Purâṇas* call the son of Kṛishṇa and the third Andhra king. In conclusion, I have to add two more remarks. First, I must repeat that I do not feel justified in trusting the assertion of the *Purâṇas* that the third king (Sâtakarṇi) was the son of the second (Kṛishṇa). He may have been the son of the first and have come to rule only after the death of his uncle, for it is a very common occurrence in Indian history that an uncle assumes the government instead of a nephew who is a minor at his father's death. The fact that Kṛishṇa's name does not occur in the Nânâghâṭ inscriptions is not absolutely irreconcilable with the Purâṇik account, but it is more easily explained on the supposition that Sâtakani was Simuka Sâtavâhana's son. A usurper would, of course, not be noticed. The Purâṇik accounts of the Andhras, moreover, as is

well known, are not very accurate, and their being mistaken on such a detail as the exact relationship of the rulers is very probable. Nevertheless, I prefer to leave the question open. Secondly, it might be objected to my theory that the name of the fourth Purâṇik king, Pûrṇotsanga, does not agree with that of Sâtakaṇi's son, who is called Vedisiri-Sâtavâhana. One answer to this objection would be that the name Pûrṇotsanga is clearly a *Biruda*, and its bearer certainly had one or perhaps more other names. He may, therefore, be identical with our Vedisiri-Sâtavâhana. The difficulty admits, however, of a very different solution. It is not impossible that, though Vedisiri-Sâtavâhana was heir-apparent, he may never have come to rule at all. It must not be forgotten that the Purâṇik lists contain neither a Vedisiri nor a Sâtavâhana, and the question if our "best of royal princes" ever ruled, or if he is hidden under the name Pûrṇotsanga, must for the present be left undecided.

As regards the third point,—the age of the Nânâghâṭ inscription and the chronological position of Simuka, Kaṇha, and Sâtakaṇi, I can here only indicate shortly my views,[1] which differ considerably from the chronological theories of Professor Wilson, as well as from those of Mr. Bhâu Dhâjî and Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl. I find it impossible to trust with Wilson to the statements of the *Purâṇas* regarding the order and duration of the Maurya, Śunga, Kâṇvâyana, and Andhra dynasties, and to fix the accession of Simuka-Śipraka, in 21 B.C., by the simple proceeding of adding the years of the first-named three dynasties, and deducting the total from 312, the year B.C. in which Chandraguptas' coronation is supposed to have taken place. This method is charmingly simple, but hardly in accordance with the canons of historical research. Its incorrectness is proved by the fact that it throws the reign of Puḷumâyi, whom Ptolemy in 150 A.D. mentions as a ruler of Baithana or Paiṭhan, into the fourth century A.D. On the other hand, I am unable to agree with Mr. Bhâû Dâji and Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl that Gautamîputra Sâtakarṇi I., who overthrew the Kshatrapa Nahapâna, must have done so between 124–135 A.D., because Nahapâna's latest date is Saṁvat 46, and this Saṁvat is the Śaka era. Nor can I assume with them that Ptolemy's dictum, "Baithana, the royal residence of Siri-Polemaios," *must mean* that Siri-Polemaios, whom they, following Lassen, rightly identify with Gautamîputra Sâtakarṇi's son, Siri-Puḷumâyi, ruled at Paithâṇ-Pratishṭhâna, at or shortly before the time when Ptolemy wrote, *i.e.*, in 150 B.C. Least of all can I concede to Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl that it is permissible, after upsetting the chronological system of the *Purâṇas*, to invoke their help for chronological purposes, and assume that the years which some of them allot to the various reigns have been correctly given, and to fix the dates of kings with the help of the Purâṇik figures. As regards Ptolemy's statement, it gives nothing else but an extreme limit beyond which the reign of Puḷumâyi-Polemaios cannot be placed. There are good reasons for believing that the two names denote the same person. But as we do not know from what source Ptolemy drew his information, and as a note like that which he gives would be equally correct both if Puḷumâyi lived a long time before the geographer, and if he were his contemporary,[2] it is not possible to make Ptolemy's assertion the starting-point of a chronological calculation. Further, as regards the *Purâṇas*, their

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[1] I trust that I shall soon be able to treat the question more fully in a treatise "On the Royal Inscriptions of the Western Caves."

[2] Similarly a geographer of the present day describing Germany would be quite correct appending to the name *Berlin*, the note, "the capital of Frederic the Great," and a historian of future ages who would infer from this statement that Frederic the Great ruled in 1882, would make, as we all know, a serious blunder.

aim is to bring the history of India into the frame of the Yuga theory. For this purpose their authors have to pile dynasty on dynasty in order to fill a space of many thousand years. Historical research has shown that they possessed *some* reliable information not only as to names, but even as to years. In the case of the Andhra dynasty, the coins and inscriptions prove that the order in which the corrupt forms of the names Gautamîputra Sâtakarṇi, Puḷumâyi, Sakasena (*Sirisena*) Mâṭharîputra, and Gautamîputra Yajñaśrî Sâtakarṇi are given, is perfectly correct, as well as that Simuka, Krishṇa, and Sâtakani reigned a considerable time before the former princes, and followed each other closely. But it by no means follows that all the other names or the order in which they are given are reliable. Nor is there any guarantee that the dynasty of Simuka-Śipraka ruled during about 450 years, much less that Simuka-Śipraka reigned 350 or 360 years before Gautamîputra Sâtakarṇi I. All these points have to be proved. Though I think it right and necessary, therefore, to look to the *Purâṇas* for the kings mentioned in the inscriptions, I deny the possibility of making up a chronological account of the Andhras with their help. It seems to me that the only means for approximatively fixing the age of the group of kings—1. Simuka, 2. Krishṇa, 3. Sâtakani—and of that containing 1. Gotamîputa Sâtakaṁṇi, 2. Puḷumâyi, 3. Sakasena Mâḍhariputa, 4. Gotamîputa Siriyaña Sâtakaṁni and 5. Chandasiri, are epigraphic evidence, and the synchronisms with the Western Kshatrapas, who date according to an era, not according to regnal years. The synchronisms which the inscriptions and ruins allow us to establish are: 1. Gotamiputa Sâtakaṁṇi was a contemporary of Nahapâna. 2. Puḷumâyi was a contemporary of Chashṭana. 3. Gotamiputa Ṣiriyaña Sâtakaṁṇi was a contemporary of Rudradâman,[1] whose reign fell between 72 and 101 of the era used by the Western Kshatrapas. The initial point of the latter era can be determined approximatively by the following process. The Kshatrapas ruled over Mâlava, Eastern Râjputânâ, and Gujarât. Their power was destroyed by their immediate successors the Guptas, whose first date in Mâlavâ is the Gupta year 83, while the latest date on the coins of the Kshatrapas is Saṁ 310.[2] These two dates must, therefore, nearly correspond. The Gupta era began about 190 A.D.,[3] and the Gupta year 83 to circiter 273 A.D. Hence the beginning of the Kshatrapa era falls about the middle of the first century B.C., and the reign of Gotamiputa Sâtakaṁṇi I., who destroyed Nahapâna's power, a little earlier. In order to determine the date of the group Simuka, Kaṇha, Sâtakani, nothing but the epigraphic evidence is available. It seems to me that a comparison of the characters of Kaṇha's and of the Nânâghâṭ inscriptions with those on the coins of the earlier Śunga kings, as well as of Dhanabhûti's inscription on the Bharahut gateway, which, owing to its beginning *suganam raje*, i.e. *Śungânâṁ râjye*, "In the reign of the Śungas," must be counted among the documents of Pushyamitra's successors, incontestably proves that the Nânâghâṭ and Kaṇha's Nâsik inscriptions belong to the first half of the second century B.C., *i.e.* were incised between 200–150 B.C. It agrees with this estimate that the differences between the characters of Gotamiputa Sâtakaṁni's and those of the Nânâghâṭ documents are such that it is not possible to place them, as Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl has also seen, at a distance of more than about 100 years.

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[1] The latter assertion becomes particularly probable by Campbell and Bhagvânlâl's discovery of a coin of Sâtakaṁni designed on the model of the Kshatrapa coins.

[2] General Cunningham's unpublished coin.

[3] This date is now substantiated by Sir E. C. Bayley's discoveries of Gupta dates on the Kabul coins and other epigraphic evidence.

It now remains to notice the importance of the large inscription for the history of religion and civilisation in India. First, it proves more clearly what indeed may be inferred from the names of some Andhra kings, *e.g.* from Siriyaña or Yajñaśrî and from the Nâsik inscription No. 14, that this family from the beginning to the end adhered to the Brahmanical faith, and, though willing to support Bauddha mendicants by liberal gifts, did not follow their heretical teachings. This fact, to which I have pointed already in my introduction to Âpastamba (*Sacred Books of the East*, vol. ii, p. xxxvi), taken together with the other fact that Southern India produced a number of ancient schools of the *Taittirîya Veda* and of the *Sâmaveda*, some of which seem to have had their home in the Andhra country, disposes of the view frequently advanced that the non-Aryan races of Southern India owe their civilisation to Buddhism and Jainism, and that Brahmanism is, in Southern India, a modern interloper. Secondly, the second part of the large inscription shows that the assertion made in the school-books of the Brâhmans regarding the costliness of the great Vedic or Śrauta sacrifices are not exaggerated, and that the so-called *Dânastutis*, occurring in the *Ṛigveda*, name comparatively speaking small largesses which the Ṛishis received from their royal patrons. Thirdly, the invocation *namo Saṁkaṁsana-Vâsudevânaṁ Chaṁdasûtânaṁ mahimâvatânaṁ*, "adoration to the two descendants of the Moon, Saṁkarshaṇa and Vâsudeva, who are endowed with majesty," furnishes an important addition to the materials proving the early prevalence of the worship of Kṛishṇa and his family in other countries than the Doab, where the Greeks already found the club-bearing Krishṇa-Vishṇu installed as the tutelary deity.

II. Kaṇheri Inscriptions.

The first fifteen inscriptions, given below, have been read according to the facsimiles on pl. li. For the following ones I have used Dr. West's eye-copies (*Jour. Bo. Br. Roy. As. Soc.*, vol. vi, pp. 1-14) and some unpublished materials. A portion of the Kaṇheri inscriptions has been translated by Dr. Stevenson in his usual style (loc. cit. vol. v. p. 1 *seqq.*)

No. 1 (West's No. 1) beneath a standing figure of Buddha, in a recess behind the dâgobâ Cave No. II.—

1. Naṇṇavaidya-
2. râṇo
3. Bhâskaraḥ ,
4. Bhâraviḥ
5. Chelladeva
6. Boppaï
7. Bhaṭṭa Khasu avvaï po-
8. hoï [||]

The inscription, which shows some Sanskrit nominatives, and ends with two Prakrit words, seems to record merely the names of some Brahmans who visited the cave, viz., *Naṇṇa, i.e., Nâṇâ*, a physician; *Bhâskar, Bhâravi, Chelladeva, Boppaï, i.e., Vopadeva,* and a priest or Bhaṭṭjî, whose name may be read *Khasu* or *Besu.* The concluding two Prakrit words are not quite clear to me, but it seems likely that their meaning is equivalent to the Jaina phrase *nityaṁ praṇamati*, which is often read on votive statues. *Avva-i* might stand for Sanskrit *avyayam*, or *avyaye.* Alphabet, Western type of the fourth or fifth century.

(West's No. 2)
No. 2, on the back wall of Cave II.[1] above a bench—

1. Nâsikakasa Nâka-
2. ṇakasa sata deyadhama [||]

—"A seat, the meritorious gift of Nâganaka (Nâkaṇaka), (*an inhabitant*), of Nâsik."

The word *sata* is probably a corruption of Sanskrit *sadaḥ*. Language, Pâlî; characters, Andhra type of the time of Puḷumâyi, or a little earlier.

(West's No. 3)
No. 3, in the same cave, near a tank—

1. Kaliyana[nâ] suvaṇako[kâ]rasa Samida-
2. tasa saha sagha[ghe]na pani[ya]ka deyadhaṁma [||]

—"A cistern (?), the meritorious gift of the goldsmith Samidata (Svâmidatta), of Kalyâṇa (*associated*) with the community (*of ascetics and lay-brethren*)."

Dr. West's facsimile reads plainly *Kaliṁyanâ* (ablat.) which is required, and *saghâne*, *i.e. saghena* or *saghenâ*. Language, Pâlî; Letters, Andhra; Date, about or shortly after Puḷumâyi's time.

(West's No. 4)
No. 4, on the right-hand gate-post of the Chaitya cave (No. III.)—

1. Raño Gotam[iputasa Sâmi-Siriyañasa]
2. Sotakaṁnissa [saṁvachare . . . . gi][2]
3. mhapakhe paṁchame [5 divase . . . .]
4. vâṇijakehi utû(?) . . . .][3]
5. ṇuya upaṁnehi gâ[. . . . .]
6. khâtiyehi bhâtû[hi . . . .]
7. Gajasenena Gajami[tena . . . .]
8. kapaṭhâyi cheti[ya . . . .]
9. âchariyânaṁ nikâ[yasa . . . . Bhâdâya]
10. nîyânaṁ parigahe pa[tiṭhâpitaṁ . . . . mâ]
11. tapitûnaṁ abhatîtâ[naṁ] . . . .]
12. pûjâya kuṭuṁbinî[na bâla]kânaṁ bâli[kânaṁ]
13. savatasa[4] bhâgineyâna nik[â]yasa nâti]
14. vagasa cha aga paṭiasiya savvasa[tânaṁ]
15. hitasukhâya hetu [|] etha cha nava . .]
16. kâ pavajito therâ bhadata-Achalâ bhâdaṁ[ta-]
17. Gahalâ bhadaṁta-Vijayamitâ bhadata-Bo[dhiko]
18. bhadata-Dhamapâlâ upâsako cha negamo A[nada-]
19. puto Aparenuko samâpitâ[|] âchari[y]âna therâṇaṁ
20. bhadata-Seuṁlânaṁ sisena uparakhitana bha-[5]
21. data Bodhikena kata selavaḍhakîhi [nâya]kami-
22. sehi kaḍhichak[e]hi mahâkaṭak[e]hi khadara-
23. kinâ cha miṭhikenâ [||]

("*On the . . . day*) of the fifth fortnight of the hot season (*of the . . . year*) of the king, the son of the Gautamî queen (*the lord Siriyaña*) Sâtakarṇi. By the merchants . . . ., born of . . nu, ... the *khâtiya* brothers . . . . Gajasena, Gajamitra . . . . . . (*was erected*) a *chaitya* which will endure until the end of the *kalpa*,

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[1] See *ante*, vol. iv, p. 63.
[2] Read *Sâtakaṁnissa*.
[3] Possibly *unha* is to be read.
[4] Possibly *seva . tasa* to be read.
[5] Read *uparakhitunâ*; *bha* looks like *su*.



in honour of their deceased parents . . . . . . and, after securing a most excellent share (*of the merit*) for their wives, sons, daughters, stepbrother, the crowd of their sister's sons, and the multitude (*of their blood relations, also*) for the well-being and happiness of all sentient creatures. And . . . . an ascetic, the *Thera*, the reverend Achala, the reverend Gahala, the reverend Vijayamitra, the reverend Bodhika, the reverend Dharmapâla and the lay worshipper, the merchant Aparenuka, the son of Ânanda, have completed (this) new (?) . . . here. (*The work has been*) executed by the reverend Bodhika, the pupil of the teacher (*and*) *Thera*, the reverend Seuṁla, (*who acted* as) overseer, together with the stonemasons . . . . and with the polisher *Skandaraki* (Khadaraki)."

Regarding the state of the inscription and the causes of its mutilation, see Dr. West, *loc. cit.* The restoration [*Bhâdâya*]*nîyânam* (l. 9) is supported by No. 37, (West) l. 2. The wording of the latter inscription must be compared for the next phrases of our inscription (l. 10–15). At the end of line 13 *mita* or *bandhu* may also be thought of. It is difficult to offer a plausible conjecture for the restoration of the end of line 15. I think of *nava-kaṁmaṁ*, which must have been followed by the name of the *pavajito*, the last syllable of whose name *kâ* (read *ko*) is preserved in l. 16. It seems to me that the Kaṇheri Chaitya was begun by the merchants Gajasena, Gajamita, &c., and finished by the persons named in l. 15–19. The name *Anada* (l. 18) may be restored according to No. 15 (West, 44—l. 3, 4), where the names of Aparenuka's relatives are given in full. For the active meaning of *samâpitâ* "have completed," compare patiṭhâpita "has erected" in the Jaggayyapeṭṭa inscriptions (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. xi, p. 256). *Seuṁla* is a curious name, but may stand for *Śaivala*. Ll. 22, 23 contain several difficult words which apparently denote various artisans. The modern Gujarâti *kaḍiyo*, "bricklayer," may be compared with *kaḍhichaka*.

(West's No. 5)

No. 5, on the left-hand gate-post of the Chaitya cave (No. III.)—

1\. . . . . khabhâlakaresu adha-
2\. . . . . . a[ka .]ch[e]tiasa bha-
3\. . . . . . lakârasa . [pa]vayitâṇa ya
4\. . . akhaya nivi [da]tâ Sopârakâhâre hâ-
5\. . . . [ti]ni 3 Kâliaṇe Abâlikâvihâre cheti-
6\. . . . upathâṇasâl[â] ovarakâni Patiṭhâṇe vihâ
7\. . . ṭigupasadari[ya] chetiaghara ovarakâ terasa
8\. . sa-akhayanivikâ [R]âjatalâka-Paiṭhâṇapathe
9\. . saṇa chulika . ya kuṭi koḍhi cha choṇitâ sada-
10\. sevâjuya [vihâ]re saghârâmo sa-akhayaniviko k[â]
11\. râpito pu[ña]ṭha deyadhamâni cha anâni pi [kâri]tâni [||]

This inscription appears to record, besides a benefaction at Kaṇheri, various meritorious gifts which the donor bestowed at other places on the Bauddha monks. The fragments permit us to recognise the following details :—1. Some addition seems to have been made to the Chaitya at Kaṇheri (l. 2). 2. A perpetual endowment, the purpose and nature of which have been lost, was given (l. 3). 3. In the Zilla of Sûpârâ (Sopârakâhâre) three (possibly cells) were added to some building (l. 4, 5). 4. In the Ambâlikâvihâra situated at Kalyâṇa (Kalliene in the Koṇkaṇ), a *Chaitya*, a hall of reception (*upaṭhaṇasâlâ*) and cells for the monks (*ovaraka*) were built (l. 5, 6). 5. At Paiṭhân (Patiṭhâṇe) a *Chaitya-griha* and thirteen cells for the monks (*ovarakâ terasa*) together with a perpetual endowment (*sa-akhayanivikâ*) were given (l. 6, 8). 6. In the *pargaṇa* or *tâlukâ* of Paiṭhân,

called Râjatalâka (?), a small temple (*kuṭi*) and a hall (*koḍhi*) were erected[1] at the vihâra of Sevâju (?), (l. 8–10). 7. A monastery (saghârâmo) was built (*kârâpito*) and endowed with a perpetual grant (*sa-akhayaniviko*). These and other meritorious gifts were made, as the donor adds, for his own benefit (*pu[ña]tha*). Alphabet, Andhra type of the time after Puḷumâyi.

No. 6, under a figure of Buddha in the verandah of the Chaitya Cave (No. III.)—

1. Buddhasya bhagavataś śâsanânukâritraipiṭakopâddhyâya-
2. bhadanta-Dharmmavatsa-śishyasya bhikshor Buddhaghoshasya
3. mahâgandhakuṭivârikasya Bhagavat-pratimeyaṁ deyadharmmaḥ [||]

—"This image of Bhagavat, (*Buddha, is*) the meritorious gift of the ascetic Buddhaghosha, the guardian of the great *gandhakuṭi*, and pupil of the reverend Dharmavatsa, a teacher of the three *Piṭakas*, who follows the religion of divine Buddha."

The reading *vârikasya* (see, however, the *Pet. Dict.*, sub. voce *nâgavârika*) is not absolutely certain. It may be *chârika*, and be translated "who undertook a pilgrimage to the great *gandhakuṭi*." By the latter term, as the position of the inscription shows, the great Chaitya is meant. Language, Sanskrit; letters, Western alphabet of the fourth or fifth century A.D.

No. 7, under another figure of Buddha[2] in the verandah of Cave No. III.—

Deyadharmmoyaṁ Sâkya-bhiksho[r] Dharmmaguptasya [||].

—"This (*is*) the meritorious gift of the Bauddha ascetic Dharmagupta."

Letters and language as those of the preceding.

No. 8, on a small bas-relief dâgoba in the verandah of Cave No. III.—

Ye dharmmâ hetuprabhavâ teshâ[. . . .].

The beginning of the Buddhist creed. Language and letters as those of No. 6.

No. 9, inside a small chamber to the left of the entrance of the Chaitya Cave (No. III.)—

1. Deyadha-
2. rmmoyam â-
3. châryya-
4. Buddhara-
5. kshitasya [|]
6. anena
7. sarvvasa-
8. tvâ Buddhâ
   bhavantu [||]

—"This (*is*) the meritorious gift of the teacher Buddharakshita. May all living beings thereby become Buddhas."

Letters and language as those of No. 6.

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[1] *Choṇitâ*, compare Gujarâtî *chaṇavuṁ*, "to build."
[2] See vol. iv, p. 61.

(West's No. 10)

No. 10, in the small chamber, No IV. (West), just north of the Chaitya Cave[1]—

1. Sidhaṁ heranikasa Dhamanakasa bhayâ-a
2. Sivapâlitanikâya deyadhaṁma
3. therâna bhayata-Dhaṁmapâlânaṁ
4. thuba [||]

—"Success! The stûpa of the Thera, the reverend Dhaṁmapâla (Dharmapâla), the meritorious gift of Śivapâlitanikâ, the wife of the goldsmith Dhamanaka (Dharma)."

West's No. 10. Mr. West's facsimile reads plainly *bhayâa, i.e., bhayâya,* while Pandit Bhagvânlâl's omits the final *a*. Date of the inscription, the interval between Puḷumâyi and Gotamiputa Siri-Yaña Sâtakaṁni II.

(West's No. 11)

No. 11, in a recess over the tank, No. V. (West) on the path up the hill—

1. . . . . . . [Vâ]sishṭh[î]putrasya śrî-Sâta[karṇ]i[s]ya devyâ[ḥ] Kârddamakarâjavaṁśapra[bha]v[â]y[â] mahâkshatra[pa] Ru . [p]utry[âḥ] . . .
2. . . . . śya . . . v[i]śvasyasya amâtyasya Śaterakasya pânîyabhâjanaṁ deyadharm[m]a[ḥ ||]

—"Of the queen . . . of the illustrious Sâtakarṇi Vâsishṭhîputra, descended from the race of Kârddamaka kings, (*and*) daughter of the Mahâkshatrapa Ru(*dra*) . . . . of the confidential minister Śateraka, a water-cistern, the meritorious gift."

As the connection between the royal lady, mentioned in l. 1, and the minister in l. 2, is not clear, I can do no more than translate the remaining words literally. It seems, however, probable that the minister executed the work at the command of the queen. Language, Sanskrit; alphabet, Western Kshatrapa type of the times of Rudradâman I. *Kârddamaka* probably means "of (*the town* or country of) *Kardama*." A locality called *Kardamila* is mentioned in the *Mahâhhârata*, see the *Petb. Dict.*, s. voce. For further historical combinations see *Ind. Ant.* xii, "On the relationship between the *Andhras* and the *Kshatrapas*."

(West's No. 12)

No. 12, above a tank with two openings to the left of Cave No. VII.—

1. Sopâragâ negama-
2. sa Samikupâsaka-
3. sa poḍhi deyadhama [||]

—"A cistern, the meritorious gift of the lay-worshipper Samika [Śramika?, Svâmika?], a merchant of Supârâ [Śorpâraka]."

Language, Pâli; letters, Andhra type of the time of Gotamiputa Sâtakaṁni I. or Puḷumâyi.

(West's No. 13)

No. 13, close to the preceding—

1. Chemulakasa heraṇikasa
2. Rohiṇimitasa putasa
3. Sulasadatasa poḍhi
4. deyadhaṁma [||]

—"A cistern, the meritorious gift of Sulasadatta, son of the goldsmith Rohiṇîmitra of Chemula" (Simylla, Cheñvaḷ, or Chaul).

[1] See vol. iv, p. 63.

Language, Pali. Letters, Andhra. Date, the period between Sâtakani of the Nânâghâṭ and Gotamiputa Sâtakaṁni I., as is shown by the archaic form of the letter *da* and the prevalence of round strokes in *sa*, *pa*, *ha*, and *ya*.

No. 14 (West's No. 19), outside the verandah of Cave No. XXXVI.—

1. Sidhaṁ raño Ma[Mâ]ḍhariputasa Svâmi-Sakasenasa
2. savachhare 8 gi pa 5 diva 10 etâya puvâya ka-
3. liyaṇakasa nekamasa Veṇhunaṁdisa pûtasa nega-
4. masa gahapatisa . .·. tisa l[e]na pa[ti]ṭhâpi-
5. ta sahâ âyyak[e]ṇa . sena sahâ pitu[ṇâ] Veṇhuna-
6. dinâ sahâ mâtuye Bodhisamâya sahâ bhâ-
7. [tunâ . .] hathinâ sahâ [sa]vena [n]i[kâyeneti]

—"Success! On the tenth day of the fifth fortnight of the hot season, in the eighth year of the king, the lord Śakasena, the son of the queen of the Mâṭhara (Mâḍhara) race. On the above (day) the merchant and householder . . . . . ti, the son of the merchant Vishṇunandin (Veṇhunaṁdi), an inhabitant of Kalyâṇa, made a cave, (*he being associated*) with the venerable . . . . ., with his father Visṇunandin, with his mother Bhadhisamâ, with his brother . . . . hastin (hathi), and with the whole multitude (*of his relatives*)."

Sakasena appears plainly on Mr. West's eye copy, while on Dr. Burgess's facsimile it looks like *Sikasena*. Bhagvânlâl's emendation (*Jour. Bom. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. xii, p. 408) *Sirisena* requires confirmation. According to Bhagvânlâl's facsimile the name of the donor ends in *tta*, according to Dr. Burgess's in *ti* (*Śivabhûti?*). Regarding the place which Mâḍhariputa Sakasena holds among the Andhra kings, see Bhagvânlâl's remarks, *loc. cit.*, and vol. xiii, pp. 306, 307.

No. 15 (West's No. 44), on the left-hand side wall outside the verandah of Cave No. LXXXI.[1]—

1. Sidhaṁ ||
2. Raño Gotamiputasa Sâmi-Siriyaña-Sâtakaṇisa sata[va]chhare 16 gi-[2]
3. mh[â]ṇa pakha 1(?) divase 5 Kâlayâṇavâṭhavasa negamasa Aṇa-
4. daputasa usâ[pâ]sakasa Apareṇusa sa[pa]rivârasa sahâ
5. kuḍubiniya Ânadamâtu Ju(?)vâriṇik[â]ya sahâ bâlakena Aṇadeṇa
6. saha cha suṇh[â]hi Aṇa . . . la . sipecha(?) dhâmadev[i]ya
7. saha [cha] . . . veṇa Ahavi(?) apaṇa âmâpitaro udisa[3]
8. pâva[te] Kaṇhasele leṇaṁ koḍhi cha deyadhâma[ṁ] châtudise
9. bhikhusaghe padiṭhâpita sâvasat[â]naṁ hitasughatha [||]
10. etasa cha akhayanivi datâ kâhâpaṇân[i] satâni be 200
11. saghasa yeva haṭhe paḷike sate eṭha cha âdhapaṇa-
12. khetiyasa kheta gâme Magalathâne bhojâ kapati eto
13. saṁgheṇa dâtavaṁ chivarika soḷasaka paḷiko cha mâse utukâle [||]

—"Success! On the 5th day of the 1st (?) fortnight of the hot season, in the year 16 of the king, the son of the queen of the Gautama (*race*), the lord Siriyaña Sâtakaṇi. The lay-worshipper Apareṇu, the son of Ânanda (Âṇada), a merchant residing in Kalyâṇa,

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[1] See *Arch. Report*, vol. iv, p. 70.

[2] L. 2. Possibly Siriyaṁña; the last *sa* of Sâtakaṇisa stands below the line.

[3] L. 7. The letters in the middle of the line are very indistinct and uncertain; perhaps *puhaviapeṇa* or °aleṇa to be read.

has excavated, together with (*his*) family, (viz.) together with (*his*) wife Juvâriṇikâ (?), the mother of Ânanda (Anaḍa), together with his son Ânanda (Aṇada) and together with his daughters-in-law, (*the wives of*) Ânanda . . . . Dharmadevi (Dhâmadevi) and together with . . . . a cave and a hall, in the mountain, the hill of Kṛishṇa (Kaṇhasela) for the community of the ascetics from the four quarters of the horizon (*to be*) a meritorious gift for the benefit of his own parents, and for the welfare and happiness of all living beings.

"And he has given a permanent endowment (*of*) two hundred *kârshâpaṇas*, 200, even into the hand of the community, two hundred bearing (*a monthly interest of*) one *kârshâpaṇa*. And here the field of the *half-paṇa*-owner, in the village of Maṇgalasthâna (*Magalathâna*) may be enjoyed. Out of (*the interest and the revenue of*) that the community shall give 'a piece of sixteen' for clothing and in the season the value of one *kârshâpaṇa* a month."

The date of the inscription proves that the figure 19 or 20, which some copies of the Purâṇas give for the duration of Yajñaśri's reign, comes nearer the truth than Professor Wilson's statement that he ruled nine years only. The endowments appear to be two— (1) a principal of two hundred kârshâpaṇas, bearing one per cent a month (see *Arch. Rep.*, vol. iv, p. 102, No. 9), and (2) half a share of the produce of a field at Mañgalasthâna, the modern Magṭhâṇ, which lies in the neighbourhood of the caves (*Jour. Bom. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. vi, p. 13). I take *âdhapaṇa-khetiyasa*, which, as this inscription invariably lengthens a short *a* after which an *r* has been elided, stands for *ardhapaṇakshetriyasya*, in the same sense as the modern Indian an eight-Ânâ or half-rûpî, owner. These phrases are used to denote a person who possesses a right to half a share in a property. I assume that Apareṇu possessed the field in question, together with an unnamed co-partner, and made over his share of the produce for religious purposes. I intentionally translate *saṁgha* by "the community," and understand thereby the whole Bauddha community of Kalyâṇa, not the ascetics alone. *Saṁgha* seems to have in this case the same meaning in which the Jainas invariably used and still use it, viz. the community of the faithful, both lay and cleric.

No. 16 (West's No. 16) on the left-hand side-wall outside the verandah of Cave No. XII.—

1. S[i]dha[ṁ] Kâliya[ña] . . sa . . . ṇa S[i]vamitasa putasa nega-
2. masa Dhama . . . . Budhakena saha cha saveṇa parivâ-
3. rena bavâ (?) . . . . la[ya]naṁ pâṇiyapoḍhi âsaṇapeḍhikâ-
4. yo pidho a . . . cha kamo cha deyadhama châtudise bhikhusaghe pa-
5. tiṭhâpita mâ[tâ]pitaro udisa savasatuhitasughatha [|]
6. eṭha cha akhayanivî cha datâ [|]
7. eto cha vâsârate vasatasa bhikhuṇo chivarikakâhâpaṇâ solasa pâte l[e]-[1]
8. sa upâhaṇâṇa[2] cha kâhâpaṇo utukâle [cha] paḍiko mâse vasatasa dâ-
9. tavo seseṇa leṇa paḍiagitava [|] Kâliyaṇe cha vihâre Gaṁdhârikâbhami-
10. ya[ṁ] bagabhaṁ bhojanachâtusâla cha deyadhaṁma [|] etesi pi akhâ[3] nivî datâ Mukuḍasiva-
11. yi [vâ]yaṁ nivesaṇaṁ[|]eto be bhâkâ bigabhasa bhâkâ châtusâlasa vihâra dasakâni chivari-[4]
12. kâni châtusâla cha [bhâka ||][5]

[1] L. 7. For the last sign, *le*, the vowel is indistinct.
[2] L. 8. The *ṇâ* of *upâhaṇâṇa* stands below the line.
[3] L. 10. *I.e. akhayâ.*
[4] L. 11. Possibly *yiṭhâyaṁ*. Read *vihâre*.
[5] L. 12. The last two signs are indistinct, and one might read chataka [chatushka].

—"Success! . . . a cave, a water-cistern, benches for sitting on, a chair, a . . . . . and a flight of stairs (?), have been erected for the community of monks from the four quarters of the horizon (*as*) the meritorious gift of the merchant Dharma . . ., the son of Sivamitra . . . . an inhabitant of Kalyâṇa (he *being associated with*) . . . . . Buddhaka and with his whole family, in honour of his parents, and for the welfare and happiness of all living beings. And a permanent endowment has been given there. And out of (*the interest of*) that, sixteen *kârshâpaṇas* are to be given (*to defray the expense*) for clothes to the ascetic who resides (*in the cave*) during the rainy season, some trifle for (*his*) almsbowl, and one *kârshâpaṇa* for (*his*) shoes, and in the season (*the value*) of one *kârshâpaṇa* a month to him who dwells (*there*). With the remainder the cave is to be kept in repair. And in the monastery at Kalyâṇa, in the Gandhârikâ-bhamî, a (house) with two apartments and a quadrangular dining-hall (*have been built as*) a meritorious gift. A perpetual endowment has been given for these also (*viz.*), a dwelling-house in the *Mukuḍasivayivâ*. Out of (*the rent of*) that two shares (are to be spent) on the house with two apartments, (*three*) shares on the quadrangular hall, ten (shares) are (*to be given to the ascetics*) in the monastery for clothes, and one share (*to those*) in the quadrangular hall."

The exact meaning of *utukâle paḍiko mâse vasatasa dâtavo* is not quite clear to me. Possibly food of the value of one *kârshâpaṇa* is meant. *Paḍiagitava* is the fut. part. pass. of a denominative, derived from Sanskrit *pratyaṅga*, Pali *pachchaṅga*. *Gaṁdhârikâ-bhamî* is apparently the name of a ward or street of Kalyâṇa (Kalliene in the Konkaṇa), and *bhamî* is probably derived from the Sanskrit *bhrami*, "circle, arrangement of troops in a circle," &c. In the present day the Anglo-Indian equivalent would be "*the Kâbûlî Bazâr.*" *Mukuḍasivayivâ* or *yiṭhâ* is, of course, likewise the name of a ward of the town. No numeral is appended to the second *bhâkâ* (*bhâgâḥ*); hence the plural has to be taken in its original sense of "*three.*" The total of the shares amounts to sixteen, and this shows that the now usual division according to Âṇâ-shares (16 Âṇâs = 1 Rûpî) is exceedingly old.

The alphabet of the inscription is of the Andhra type, of the times of Gotamiputa Siri-Yaña-Sâtakaṁni.

After *datâ* (l. 6) a large blank space of one and a half lines has been left. Probably it was intended to insert the nature of the first-mentioned perpetual endowment.

No. 17 (West's No. 17) on the left-hand side-wall of the porch of Cave No. XIX.—

1. Sidhaṁ âchariâ[na] bhayatâta[râna] bhâtuno pavajitasa Âṇadasa
2. leṇa deyadhamaṁ saghe [|] akhayanivi dinâ [|] eto chivarikaṁ dâta-
3. va chhaka . naṁ saha savehi nâtihi [‖]

—"Success! A cave, the meritorious gift of the ascetic Ânanda (Âṇada), the brother of the teacher, the reverend (Antara ?), for the community of ascetics. A permanent endowment has been given. Out of (*the interest of*) that (*the expense*) for clothes is to be given to (*the ascetics*). (*The giver is associated*) with all his blood-relations."

Letters, Andhra type, about the time of Gotamiputa Siri-Yaña-Sâtakaṁṇi. The name of the reverend teacher has been given according to Dr. West's copy.

No. 18 (West's No. 18) on the inner wall of the verandah of Cave No. XXIX.—

1. Sidhaṁ Kaliaṇakasa negamasa Golaṇakaputasa negamasa Isipâlasa
2. saparivârasa mâtâpitunaṁ

3. puyatha leṇa poḍhi cha deyadhaṁ-
4. ma || akhayanivi cha dinâ gâme
5. Saphâusu kheta thapati [|] eto
6. cha vasa-uthasa chivarika bârasaka
7. gimhâsu paḍiko mâse seseṇa
8. maṭape pavâḍe cha paḍiagitava [||]

—"Success! A cave and a cistern, the meritorious gifts of the merchant Ṛishipâla (Isipâla) (*who is associated*) with his family, the son of the merchant Golanaka, an inhabitant of Kalyâṇa, in honour of his parents.—A perpetual endowment has been given (*viz.*) a field in the village of Saphâu . . . . And out of (*the rent of*) that 'a piece of twelve' (*shall be given to the ascetic*) who keeps the *vasso* (*to defray the expense*) for clothes, in the hot season the value of one *kârshâpaṇa* (*each*) month; with the remainder the minor repairs shall be done in the Maṇḍapa and the Pravâḍa."

Alphabet, Andhra type of, or shortly after the time of Gotamiputa Siri-Yaña-Sâtakaṁṇi. —The feminine plural *gimhâsu, i.e., grîshmâsu,* probably caused by the analogy of *varshâsu,* is unusual. *Maṭapa, i.e., maṇḍapa,* seems to denote the cave. *Pavâḍa, i.e.,* S. *pravâḍa* or *prabâla,* "a young sprout, or a coral," must have here a technical meaning. A line of small letters, incised under the first ten *aksharas* of line 1, which seems to have been a postscript, is illegible in the facsimiles.

No. 19 (West's No. 20) outside the verandah of Cave No. XXXVI.—

1. Sadha ra . Ma[ḍhariputasa Svâmi-Sakase-
2. [nasa . . . . [di]vâ 10 etâyi (?)
3. . . . . vaṭhaveya Veṇhunadiputra-
4. [sa] . . . . sa bhajâya Hâlaṇikâ le-
5. [ṇa patiṭhâpita sa]hâ âyyakena Lâ . . . sa . . . . .
6. . . . . Dhâmaye . . . .
7. . . . . Buddhakayena sahâ vi . . . .

This inscription, which is found in the same cave as No. 14, apparently records the gift of the second room attached to the larger one, by the wife of the donor mentioned in the preceding inscription, the son of Veṇhunaṁdi or Vishṇunandin. It seems to have been incised on the same day as No. 14, as the remaining letters show that the king was the same Mâḍhariputa Sakasena. Though Dr. West has *Sara*, I think the last three signs of line 1 of the facsimile point to *Sakase.* In line 3, Dr. West has *vaṭhavesa;* the correct reading is probably *vaṭhavasa,* "an inhabitant" (*of Kalyâṇa*), as in No. 14.

No. 20 (West's No. 23) on the back wall of the open gallery No. XXXIX.—

[Sidhaṁ Sop]ârayakasa manikarasa Nâgapâlitasa saparivârasa leṇa deyadhama [||]

—"Success! A cave, the meritorious gift of Nâgapâlita, a jeweller from Śorpâraka (*who is associated*) with his family."

For the form *Sopârayakasa* compare Nâṇâghâṭ, inscription No. IX. The transcript has been made with the help of Dr. West's facsimile. Alphabet, Andhra type, about the time of Puḷumâyi.

No. 21 (West's No. 24) over a tank near the entrance of Cave No. XLIII.—

1. Sidha therâṇa bhayaṁta-Ghos[â]ṇa atevâsiniye
2. pavaitikâa P[o]ṇakîasaṇâa theriya leṇa
3. . . . pâṇiyapoḍhi cha deyadhama saha bhagi-
4. niya saha cha . . . samaṇapapaakehi châtu-
5. dise bhikhusaghe patithâpitâ mâ[tâpitaro udi]
6. sa [|] akhaya nivi cha saghasa dinâ kâhâpaṇa satâni be [||]
7. eto chiarika solasaka paḍiko mâse cha utukâle sava-
8. l[o]kahitasughatha [||]

—"Success! A cave . . . and a water-cistern, have been excavated for the community of ascetics from the four quarters, as the meritorious gift of the female ascetic, the *therî* Poṇakîasaṇâ, the pupil of the *thera*, the reverend Ghosha, (*she being associated*) with (*her*) sister, and with . . . . . the *Samaṇapapaakas*, for the benefit of her parents. And a perpetual endowment has been given to the community (*of monks*, viz.), two hundred *kârshâpaṇas*. Out of (*the interest of*) that 'a piece of sixteen' (*shall be given*) for clothes, and the value of one *kârshâpaṇa* (*each*) month in the season——(*the grant has been made*) for the welfare and happiness of the whole world."

I am unable to determine the meaning of the compound *samaṇapapaakehi*, though the first part is clearly *śramaṇa*. Possibly it may be a mistake for samaṇopâsakehi, "with the monks and laymen." Alphabet, Andhra type, of the time of Gotamiputa Siri-Yaña-Sâtakaṁṇi.

No. 22 (West's No. 25) on the left-hand side-wall outside the verandah of Cave No. XLVIII.[1]—

1. . . . ṭhoṇakâ[ṇa] [therâ]ṇa[bha]yata-Hâ[la]kâṇa ma
2. . . . tisa Kaṇhasa deyadhamaṁ leṇaṁ p[o]ḍh[i] k[o]ḍhi [cha]
3. [pa]tiṭhâpitâ [|] akhaya nivi cha dinâ kâhâpaṇâṇa . . . .
4. . . . . satâ sa[ghe] eto cha bhikhusaghe chevarika dâtava bârasa-
5. [ka . . . .] sa savalokahitasukhâya ti [||]

—". . . . . a cave, a cistern, and a hall have been excavated, as the meritorious gift of Kaṇha (Kṛishṇa) . . . . . of the thera the reverend Hâlaka. And a perpetual endowment (viz.) . . . . hundreds of *kârshâpaṇas* has been given. Out of (*the interest of*) that 'a piece of twelve' shall be given to the community of ascetics for clothes. . . . . . for the welfare and happiness of all people."

Probably the first two lines have to be restored, as follows: [*Sidhaṁ Kali*] *aṇakâ*[*ṇa*] [*therâ*]*ṇa* [*bha*]*yata Hâ*[*la*]*kâṇa aṁ*[*tevâsi*]*sa Kâṇhasa*, &c.

The importance of the inscription consists in the name Kaṇha, Kṛishṇa, which furnishes another proof for the worship of Kṛishṇa in the Koṅkaṇ,[2] and in the form *chevarika* (Sanskrit, *chaivarika*), which proves more clearly than the usual *chivarika* that "for clothes," not "cloth," is the meaning of the word. Alphabet as in the preceding inscription.

No. 23 (West's No. 31) on the inner wall of the verandah of Cave No. LVIII.—

1. Sidhaṁ theṛânaṁ bhayata-Mitabhûtînaṁ
2 leṇaṁ sâgarapaloganânaṁ deyadhamaṁ [||]

—"Success! The cave of the *thera*, the reverend Mitrabhûti, the meritorious gift of the Sâgarapaloganas (?)."

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[1] See vol. iv, p. 68.

[2] See vol. iv, p. 9.

Dr. West's copy shows only *naṁ* in the difficult word *sâgarapaloganânaṁ*, while the unpublished one has above the line *nâ* and below the line *na* and an *anusvâra* above the line. It is possible that the mason wished to remove the *nâ* and to substitute *naṁ*. If that is the case, and the whole has to be read *sâgarapaloganaṁ*, the latter might be taken as a genitive plural, and the whole be translated "of the people who protect the ocean," *i.e.* either "of a community of traders by sea," or "of an admiralty-board." The reading *sâgarapaloganânaṁ* would be equivalent to Sanskrit for *sâgarapralokanânâm* "of those looking after the ocean." Alphabet, Andhra type of Puḷumâyi's time or a little later. The *ṭ* shows the form which is constantly used in the Kuḍâ inscriptions.

No. 24 (West's No. 32), in a recess over the tank in Cave No. LIX.[1]

1. [Sidhaṁ Kali]aṇikâya Bhoïgiyâ A-
2. [pa]râṁtikâya Dâmilâya leṇaṁ
3. [po]ḍhi cha Kaṇhasele deyadhamaṁ [||]

—"Success! A cave and a cistern on the hill of Krishṇa, the meritorious gift of Dâmilâ, Bhojikî of the Koṅkaṇ (Aparânta), an inhabitant of Kalyâṇa.

This inscription has been restored according to Dr. Stevenson's transcript, whose Paṇḍit, as Dr. West states, destroyed the beginning of the lines. The epithets *Bhoïgiyâ*, *Âparâṁtikâya*, of course, mean that the husband of Dâmilâ was Bhojaka, *i.e.* the ruler, of the Koṅkaṇ. Alphabet, Andhra type, earlier than the inscriptions of Gotamiputa Sâtakaṁṇi I.

No. 25 (West's No. 33), on the inner wall of the verandah of Cave No. LIX.—

1. Sidhaṁ Kâliyinikiya bhikhuṇiya Dâmilâya leṇa deyadhamaṁ
2. poḍhi cha [||]

—"Success! A cave and a cistern, the meritorious gift of the female ascetic Dâmilâ, an inhabitant of Kalyâṇa."

It would seem that the small letters *poḍhi cha* in the second line are intended as a correction, and to be inserted after *leṇa* as the sense requires. Alphabet, Andhra type, of the time of Puḷumâyi.

No. 26 (West's No. 35), on the left-hand side-wall outside the verandah of Cave No. LXVIII.—

1. pâlâ[ṇaṁ] [aṁtevâ] sisa
2. . . . . ṇayasa . . . [m]itaṇakasa pavajitasa
3. . . . . lena (?) . . . pâniya-poḍhi cha
4. [deya]dhama [châtu]dise bhikhusaghe pati-
5. ṭhâpitaṁ mâtâpitaro udisa savasatâna
6. hitasukhaṭha apaṇo cha nivâṇâsabharaṭha [|] etasa cha akhayanivi di[nâ ||]

—"By the pupil of . . . . pâla, the ascetic . . mitaṇaka, a cave (?) and . . . a water-cistern have been excavated for the community of ascetics from the four quarters of the horizon; for the benefit of (his) parents, for the welfare of all living beings, and for the fulfilment of the hope of final liberation for himself. And a perpetual endowment has been given by him."

Alphabet, Andhra type, about the time of Puḷumâyi.—*Nivâṇâsabharaṭha* would be in Sanskrit *nirvâṇâśâvharaṇârtham*, but the idiom is Gujarâtî or Marâṭhî.

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[1] See *Arch. Report*, vol. iv, p. 69.

No. 27 (West's No. 37), on the left-hand side-wall, outside the verandah of Cave No. LXX.—

1\. . . . . leṇaṁ pâṇiyya[poḍhi cha] . . .
2\. ṇa Bhâdrajaṇijjâṇaṁ pratigrahe [|] etta [1] pûnaṁ
3\. . . . . mâtua cha Naṁdiṇikâ bhâjâya ghariṇiya Dâmi-
4\. [lâya] . . . . . . ya ekka ovarako deyyadhaṁrmma etto cha punabhâgo puttâṇa je-
5\. . . . . . bhâtuputrasya cha Âryyaghoshasya dhutua cha Saṁghadevanikâya
6\. . . . . ṇatukaṇaṁ nâtiṇaṁ [2] panatukâṇaṁ panatiṇaṁ śunhâṇaṁ savvaseva kulasya
7\. [a]titâṇaṁ ṭṭhitâṇaṁ aṇagatâṇaṁ [3] cha sârvvaśatvâṇaṁ cha hitasukhârtthâya bhavatu tti [||]

—". . . . . a cave and a water cistern for the acceptance of the . . . . . . Bhadrâyanîyas. The merit (*gained*) thereby (*shall belong*) to . . . . and to (*my*) mother Nandinikâ. One cell (*is*) the meritorious gift of (*my*) wife (*and*) lady Dâmilâ. A share of the merit (*gained*) thereby (*shall belong*) to (*my*) sons Je . . . . ., to (*my*) nephew Âryaghosha, and to (*my*) daughter Saṁghadevanikâ . . . to (*my*) grandsons, grand-daughters, great-grandsons, great-grand-daughters, and daughters-in-law, and to (*my*) whole race, the deceased, the living, and the unborn; may it be for the welfare and happiness of all living beings."

I am unable to make out the whole of the postscript, which narrates how a perpetual endowment of 1600 *kârshâpaṇas* was given, and contains details into whose hands it was placed, and for whose benefit the interest was to be expended. The portion transcribed is interesting on account of its language, which presents a most remarkable mixture of Sanskrit and Prakrit forms, and for the occurrence of the name of the Bhâdrâyaṇîya school, which is frequently mentioned in the Nâsik inscriptions. The alphabet shows the Andhra type, with an admixture of younger forms, *e.g.*, in *ṇa* and *śa*.

No. 28 (West's No. 39), on the right-hand side-wall outside the verandah of Cave No. LXXVI.—

1\. Sidha[ṁ] upâsakasa Dheṇukâkaṭ[i]yasa [Kulapiyasa]
2\. [Dha]maṇakasa dh[u]tuya pavaïtik[â]ya Sâ[pâya the]
3\. r[â]ṇa bhadata-Bodhikâṇa âtevâsini[ya]
4\. leṇa deyadhama p[â]ṇiyapoḍhi cha saha bhagi[niya]
5\. Ratinikâya saha cha saveṇa nâtisabadhi[vage]
6\. ṇa ch[â]tudis[e] bhikhusagh[e] aṭhasu puris[esu]
7\. lesu (?) patiṭhâpita mâtupitara udisa sava[satâṇa]
8\. hitasughatha[|] bhikhusaghasa akhayanivi cha diṇâ eto cha [bhikhu]-
9\. sagh[â]ṇa chivarika dâtava solasaka utukâle cha . . .

—"Success! By the female ascetic Sâpâ (Sarpâ), the daughter of the lay-worshipper and inhabitant of Dheṇukâkaṭa, Kulapiya (Kulapriya) Dhamaṇaka (Dharma), (*and*) the pupil of the Thera, the reverend Bodhika (*she being associated*) with her sister Ratinikâ and with the whole number of her relations and connections, a cave and a water-cistern have been excavated (*as*) a meritorious gift, for the community of ascetics from the four quarters of the horizon (*viz.*) for eight persons (?) . . .—for the benefit of her parents and for the welfare and happiness of all living beings. And a permanent endowment has

[1] L. 2. Read *etto*. [2] L. 6. Read *ṇatiṇaṁ*. [3] L. 7. Read *aṇâgatâṇaṁ*.

been given to the community of ascetics; and out of (*the interest of*) that (*a piece of*) sixteen shall be given to the community of ascetics for clothes, and in the season. . . ."

Dhenukâkaṭa is doubtless the same place which is frequently mentioned in the Kârle inscriptions and elsewhere. It is most probably different from Dhanakaṭaka or Dhañakaṭaka, the Andhra capital, in the south-east. Etymologically the name means "the residence of Dhenukâ," and the word looks like a synonym of Dhenukâśrama, or Dhenukâ, which is mentioned in the *Mahâbhârata*. The alphabet shows the Andhra type of the times of Gotamiputa Siri-Yaña Sâtakaṁni II.

No. 29 (West's No. 40), on the right-hand side-wall outside the verandah of Cave No. LXXVII.—

1. . . sa . . . . . . ipula . . . . sava . . ma
2. . . sa dasamiya etâ[ya] puvâya mahârâ[ja]bâlikâya ma[hâbhoji]ya
3. bâ[likâ]ya mahâraṭhiṇiya *Khaṁdanâgasâtaka*-mâtuya mahâ[bho]jasa [Ahi]-
4. [jasa](?) cha Dheṇaseṇasa(?) bhagiṇiya Nâgamulani[kâ]ya leṇa deyadhama
5. . . . . bhikusaghe patiṭhâpita(ṁ) mâ[tup]i[ta]râ [udi]sa kâ . eṇa a . . .

—". on the tenth (*lunar day*). On the above (*date*) Nâgamulanikâ (Nâgamûla), daughter of the great king and daughter of the Mahâbhojî, wife of the Mahâraṭhi, mother of Khaṁdanâgasâtaka (Skandanâgasâtaka), and sister of the Mahâbhoja Ahija (?) Dheṇaseṇa (Dhanasena?) excavated a cave (*as*) a meritorious gift for the community of the ascetics . . . for the benefit of her parents . . . . ."

Letters, Andhra. Both *ta* and *na* have a loop, and are for that reason not to be distinguished; *ṇa* has the later form, which occurs also on the Jagayyapeṭṭâ inscriptions. As, however, an *i*, a *pu*, and a *la*, or rather traces of these letters, are faintly visible in the first line before the first break, it is not impossible that the inscription was dated according to the regnal years of Siri-Puḷumâyi.

No. 30 (West's No. 53), on a detached rock between Caves No. XIV. and XV.—

Kaliya[ṇa]to
Nadasa kamâ-
rasa patho de-
yadhama [||]

—"Success! A path, the meritorious gift of Nanda (*Nada*), a blacksmith from Kalyâṇa."

This inscription seems to be one of the oldest found at *Kaṇheri*, for the letter *da* has the old form and opens towards the left.

Postscript.—The word *Âṇadamâtu*—Kaṇheri No. 44, West (Burgess, No. 15), l. 5—affords a certain instance in which the genitive *mâtu* is used in the sense of the instrumental. It is, therefore, not necessary to change, as proposed above, *Vedisirimâtu* (Nânâghâṭ I. p. 61) to *Vedisirimâtuya*. As regards the word *bhâriyâ* (*Ibidem*), which evidently has the sense of *bhâriyâya*, it may also be a vicarious form for the latter instead of a misspelling, for the Kaṇheri and other old Prakrit inscriptions repeatedly show *a* instead of *ya* as the termination of the third case. It is, therefore, imaginable that this *a* may have coalesced with

the preceding long vowel, and that thus *bhâriyâ* (loc. cit.) may be really intended for an instrumental case.

No. 31.—

On the architrave of Cave X.—the Darbâr Cave[1]—is an inscription in eight lines from 11 to 11½ feet long, with two additional ones of 5½ feet long, but very indistinctly engraved. The opening sentences have been translated by Pandit Bhagwânlâl Indraji.[2] It is dated in the Śaka Saṁvat 775 in the reign of the Râshṭrakûṭa king Amoghavarsha Jagattuṅga, and of his feudatory Kapardi, the Śilâhâra, chief of the Konkan.

✓ No. 32.—

On the architrave of the small cave No. LXXVIII., just opposite to the Darbar Cave, is a similar inscription (West's No. 43) dated in Śaka 799 during the reign of the same two kings.

In Cave LXVI. are three Pahlavi inscriptions, one on the left side of the recess of the water cistern in the right side of the court, and consists of thirteen lines; the other two are on the pilasters of the verandah, and are also written vertically. Dr. E. W. West also discovered two fragments of similar inscriptions at the structural stûpa or dâgaba which he examined.[3] These inscriptions have been translated by Dr. West,[4] and consist of lists of names, two companies of Pârsîs who visited the place: the first having engraved two of the inscriptions on 10th October and 24th November 1009 A.D., and the second perhaps also two—the one dated 30th October 1021 A.D. The fifth fragment is too small and indistinct to yield any information.

The copperplate inscription found by Dr. Bird at Kaṇheri has also been published elsewhere.[5]

III. Daśa Avatâra Inscription at Elurâ.

On the west side of the maṇḍapa in front of the Daśa Avatâra cave temple at Elurâ is a long inscription in fourteen lines in Dêvanâgarî characters, of the forms used in the first half of the eighth century; but they are faintly cut and much chipped, few of the letters being uninjured, and long portions of many of the lines quite illegible. Paṇḍit Bhagwânlâl Indraji studied it carefully on the spot, and made a transcript of all the letters he could make out, of which the following is a transliteration. It is in Sanskṛit verse, and contains 29¾ ślokas in different metres.

Transcript.

(1.) Oṁ namaḥ | S'ivâya | Arddhakṛishṭe garishṭhe dhanushi śiśutayâ jânulagnaṁ kumâraṁ vâmârddhenâpanetuṁ jhaṭiti vighaṭite gâḍhabandhepi mushṭau yâtaḥ pâyâ . . . . . . sannâdapi[dahati pure?] . . . . (1.) . . . .

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[1] See *Cave Temples*, p. 355. This inscription is Dr. West's No. 15.

[2] *Jour. Bom. B. R. As. Soc.*, vol. xiii, p. 11; and *Cave-Temple Inscriptions*, p. 61.

[3] *Jour. Bom. Br. R. A. Soc.*, vol. vi, pp. 116 ff.

[4] Published in the separate memoranda of the Archæological Survey of Western India, No. X.—*Cave-Temple Inscriptions*, pp. 62–66; and *Ind. Ant.*, vol. ix, pp. 265–268.

[5] *Cave-Temple Inscriptions*, pp. 57–60.



(2.) bhasantushṭâ viyuktânayâ setyetyuktavatî haraṁ rahasi vaḥ pâyânnagendrâtmajâ (2) [sva]laṁkṛitaṁ yatna . . . . . . pi nirmmalaṁ pareṇa jâpyanalinî karotyalaṁ prakṛishṭamâkṛishṭa . . . . payobindurivâyudhaṅkaraḥ (3) sthirâtmakaḥ [sadguṇa] . . . . ka . . . sya . . . nâṁ sajano . . . . . . (4) . . . .

(3.) ye kîrttitâḥ kshitibhujaḥ kavibhiḥ purâṇâḥ tâneva saṁsmarati vetyadhunâpi lokastasyânvayasya kaviresha tanoti kîrtiṁ (5) samagrajagatîtalâvikalapâlanaikochitaṁ pra[kâmachatu]rârṇavapramathanâjjitaḥ śripatiṁ na vetti khalu kaḥ kshitai prakaṭarâshṭrakûṭânvayaṁ (6) . . . . tapatha . . . . ddhairyavantaḥ karttâraḥ prârthitârthaḥ praṇayijana . . . .

(4.) pra[thita]pṛithuchamûvikramâṇâmariṇâṁ bhaṁktâraḥ kauñjariṇâṁ samadakaṭataṭaślâghinînâṁ ghaṭânâṁ (7) [1] tasmiṁ dugdhâmbu[vîchî]dyu[ti]dhavalayaśaścandṛikodbhâsitâśo yoshichakrasya . . . . raṇadadhanmattamâtaṁgagâmî svâmî varṇṇâśramâṇâṁ praśamitasakalavyâpadânandadâ[nâ] . . . . . . bhâsva . . . . tapaâṁ vidvishâṁ Dantivarmmâ (8) sudustyajâ yena satâpi bhûbhṛitâ sa . . . . tra vîvekinâścharya

(5.) masajjanâya yaṁ dayâlunâ sajjanavṛittaśâlinâ (9) âlekhyârpitamûrttayaḥ svabhavaneshvadyâpi yasya dvishaḥ paśyantaḥ kimu yuddhamuddhatarushâśchitrastha[mâna]ntanoḥ tannâmasmaraṇâgata . . . . mâtvanyopi nashṭaśṛîyaḥ[2] prekshyaṁte pathikaiḥ śucheva vividhâstenaiva nirmûlitâḥ (10) tasyâtmaja . . . . devarâja . . . . kamalaḥ kamalâyatâkshaḥ kshuṇṇâripakshavanitâ nayanântavântatoyânvitakshitimarakshayadindrarâjaḥ (11) yasminkshoṇî

(6.) makhaṇḍâṁ kṛitabhayasunatâṁ rakshati kshuṇṇadushṭe saṁpannaiḥ sârddhaśishṭaiḥ pravarakṛitayu[ga?] kshmâpatinyâyayuktyâ yajñai . . . . [bhaktâ]ḥ . . . . vibudhânijire . . . . kaśchinnâbhûtsaśokaṁ kalikalushamatirnnaiva nâpyalpavittaḥ (12) vikâsi yasya kshaṇadâsvavikshataṁ śaśâṅkadhâmavyapade[śakâ]rî karo[ti] saṁpratyapi nirmmalaṁ jagatprasannadigmaṇḍalamaṇḍanaṁ yaśaḥ (13) durvvârodârachakraḥ pṛithutarakaṭakaḥ kshmâbhṛidunmûlanena khyâtaḥ śaṁkhâṅkapâṇi

(7.) rbbalivijayamahâvikramâvâptalakshmîḥ kshoṇibhârâvatârî vishamamahipatestasya sûnurnṛipobhût mânyo Govindarâjo haririva hariṇâkshîjanaprârthanîyaḥ ‖ (14) yasyâmalai[ḥ] praṇatabhûpativachchhalasya[3] râmâbhirâmacharitasya sahasrasaṁkhyaiḥ ânandabhirguṇaśatai[ḥ] prasṛitairddigântâṁ vyâptaṁ ja[ga]tkaraśatairiva śîtaraśmeḥ (15) tasmâ . . . . janmâ ripujanatimirâkâṇḍachaṇḍâṁśu . . . . . . meshaḥ puṇyaiḥ prajânâṁ sûgatasamakṛipaḥ kalpavṛikshânukârî bhîtâpannârttihârî

(8.) kalikalushajushâ . . . . makârî râjaśrî Karkkarâjaḥ khara . . . ra[khurâkshepa?]niḥśeshitâriḥ (16) yasyârûḍhasya naktaṁ niyatanṛipajanâsthânadânâyakântaṁ ramyaṁ harmyasya pṛishṭaṁ pravaratara-maṇi śreṇisiṁghâsanâṁkaṁ vârastrîhâratâradyutitaralamahâratnarochiśśikhâbhiḥ kâmaṁ dhvastendhakâre na sitakarakarai . . . . yaiḥ (17) duḥprâpavâṁchhitamanorathasaṁvidhâna nirnâśitârthibudhasârthamanobhitâpaḥ yaḥ kalpapâdapamapîndusitorukîrtti

(9.) rânandibhirguṇaśatairadharîchakâra ‖ (18) tasyâbhûdbhuvanaprakâmamahimâ bhagnârivîronnatiḥ kshiptaḥ kshudrarajaḥ prajâparibhavavyâpattivichchhittikṛit mâdyaddikkarikumbhabhittivilasatkîrttipratîtâyataṁ . . . . dvâjiraṇâjirajjitajayaḥ śrîrindrarâjaḥ sutaḥ ‖ (19) yo mâchchharyamanâr[4]yakâryavimukhaḥ prochchhârya[5]dhairyodadhiḥ dhṛitvâ sajjanavṛittamesha sukṛitaiḥ . . dhîrograhît yasyâdyâpi guṇaiḥ śaśâṅkaśuchibhirdhâmâparaṁ tatsamaṁ bhrâmyadbhirnna bhavekhile

(10.) nuśaradaṁ haṁsachchhalenâpyate ‖ (20) varṇṇâśramânaśeshâṁ tanayastasya svavartmasuyasituṁ śrî Dantidurggarâjassakalamahîpâlanâthobhût (21) yasya hareriva charitaṁ nâtikrântairna bhâvibhiḥ kaiśchit śakyamanukarttumamalaṁ narapatibhirnnâpi sâṁpratikaiḥ (22) daṇḍenaiva jigâya Vallabhabalaṁ yaḥ Sandhubhûpâdhipaṁ Kâñchiśaṁ sa Kaliṅga-Kośalapai Srîśailadeśeśvaraṁ śeshânMâlavaLâṭaṬaṁkanṛipatînanyâṁścha nîtvâ vaśaṁ yaḥ SrîVallaba

(11.) tâmavâpa charaṇaṁ nyasya dvishâṁ mastake ‖ (23) śauryeṇâtyaśayishṭa yaḥ prathanakaṁ tejasvinâ mârutiṁ tyâgenâṁśumadâtmajaṁ raṇanayairdroṇaṁ guruṁ prajñayâ rûpeṇâpratimena manmathamatha sthemnâ suvarṇṇâchalaṁ lâvaṇyena śaśâṅkamujvalayaśaḥ śubhrîkṛito [yaṁ] pathaḥ (24) devaṁ . . . . savaraparikaraṁ bhîmasenânuyâtaṁ prahvairbhûpendravṛindaiḥ parivṛitamabhayairugraseno jitâriḥ vyâpadyuddharttumekaṁ prasabhaparakaridhvaṁsasaṁskâradaksho Bibhachchh[6]urdushṭanâgo

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[1] Read *tasmindu*°. [2] Read *śriyaḥ*. [3] Read °*tsalasya*.
[4] Read °*mâtsarya*°. [5] Read °*protsârya*°. [6] Read *bîbhatsu*°.

(12.) Jayinamiva paraṁ śrîmahârâja-Śarvvaḥ ‖ (25) dattaṁ yenojjayinyâmapi nṛipatimahâdânamâścharyabhûtaṁ nyâyyaṁ saṁchintyadîptadyutibahukanakaṁ ratnamuktâvataṁsaṁ mâṇikyâkîrṇṇamanyaṁ divasamaviratatṛiptadînârthisârthaṁ karttuṁ krîḍâmapûrvvâmaparanṛipatibhiḥ svapnakâlepyanâpyâṁ ‖ (26) dhaureyaṁ tu prakṛishṭaṁ sakalavasumatîbhâradhâri[tva]yogyaṁ dṛishṭvaivaṁ ślâghanîyaṁ raghunaghushanṛigeshvapyadṛishṭaṁ ya . . . . . tsarvvaṁ dvîpâdhipatyaṁ paramavija[yina]

(13.) mâdaraiśchâryasâraṁ prîtaḥ prâdâtsayasmai mushitakalimude râjasiṁghâya[1] vedhâ ‖ (27) yasmâdduḥkhaṁ dvishaṁtaḥ sumahad upachitiṁ prâpurishṭâ viśishṭâśchitraṁ chittena vittaṁ chiramabhilashitaṁ yattadevârthisârthâḥ bhṛityâssadbhogayogaṁ bhayavidhuradhiyaḥ prâṇinastrâsanâśaṁ vṛiddhiṁ dharmmasya viprâḥ sukhamabhiruchitaṁ bandhumitrâptavarggâḥ ‖ (28) yasyâkhaṁḍitavikramasya kaṭakenâkramya tîrakshitiṁ saudhesmiṁkṛita-Gurjjarendraruchite ramye . . . . . taistasthushaḥ snântîbhi . . . . . tâṅgarâgasurabhi

(14.) protkaṁpipadmâkaraṁ dhâritṛishvapi pushkareshvapi . . . . nâbhiśchiraṁ ‖ (29) yasyâstodayaśailasânuvanajeshûtkaṁpikarṇotpalâ[ḥ] sârddhaṁ kâmijanairlavaṁgasumanogandhândhamuktâlishu vyâkîrṇeshu latâgṛiheshvaviralaḥ karppûrareṇûtkarai.

This fragmentary inscription is interesting, as it gives us two earlier kings of the great Râshṭrakûṭa dynasty than are mentioned in the copperplates, viz., Dantivarmâ and Indrarâja, who must have reigned about the beginning of the seventh century. It then continues the dynasty list with the usual names of Govinda I., Karka, Indra, and Dantidurga, the latter of whom is described as placing his feet on the necks of his enemies, and made the Vallabharâja (that is, the Western Chalukya king, Kîrttivarma II.) his tributary, besides subjugating many other kings, whence he took the title of Śri-Vallabha. There is mention made of a Maharâja Śarva, perhaps the brother or first minister of the king, who is also praised. The last two verses apparently describe him as coming with an army and staying at this temple. A Gurjara râja is also mentioned.

This Dantidurga, we know from other inscriptions,[2] must have ruled about A.D. 725–755, and it is probable that the visit to Elurâ mentioned in this inscription was connected with the dedication of the Kailâsa temple or of the Dâśa Avatâra one. Of his uncle and successor Krishna I., we are told that he established himself at a hill named Elâpura, where there was a famous temple of Svayambu-Śiva: this place has not been identified, but may possibly have been on the hill above the Elurâ caves, on which, beyond the modern town of Rozah, are the remains of an old Hindu city.

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[1] Read °*siṁhâya*.

[2] See *Reports*, vol. iii, pp. 31 ff; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. v, p. 144 f.; vol. vi, pp. 59–72; vol. i, pp. 205 ff; vol. vii, p. 210; and vol. xi, p. 108.

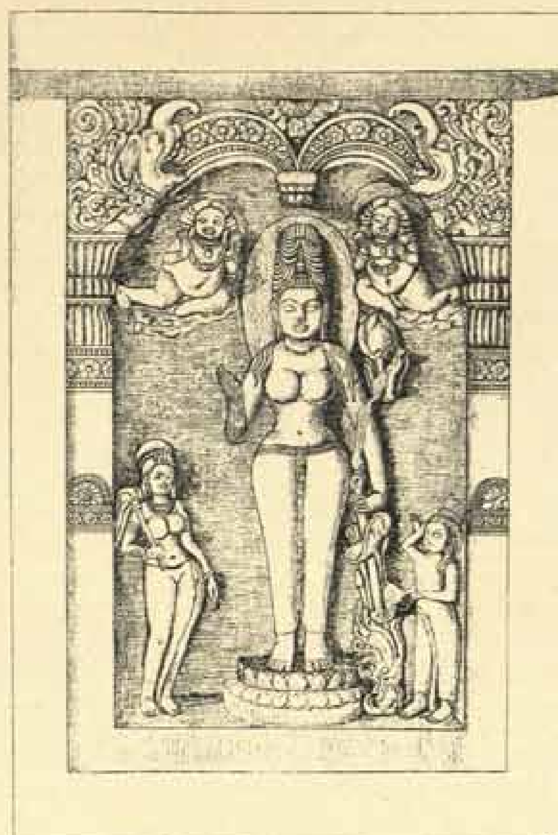
END OF VOL. V.

BALLANTYNE, HANSON AND CO., EDINBURGH AND LONDON.

ELURA.-BUDDHIST CAVES.



1. TÁRA IN CAVE II.



2. TÂRÂ IN CAVE VI.

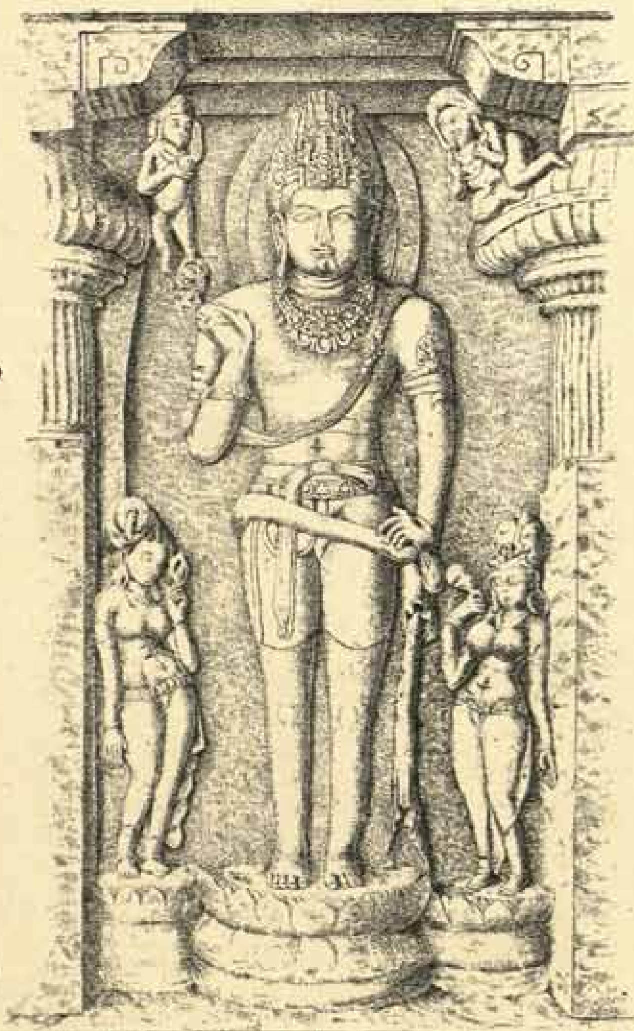


3. PILASTER IN CAVE V.

Scale of 12" 1 2 3 4 feet.



4. ON THE RIGHT SIDE OF THE SHRINE IN CAVE VI.



6. BODHISATTVA IN CAVE IX.



5. ON THE LEFT SIDE OF THE SHRINE CAVE VI.

J. Burgess,

ELURA.

1. BAUDHHA CAVES
NOS. VII & VIII.

VII

VIII.

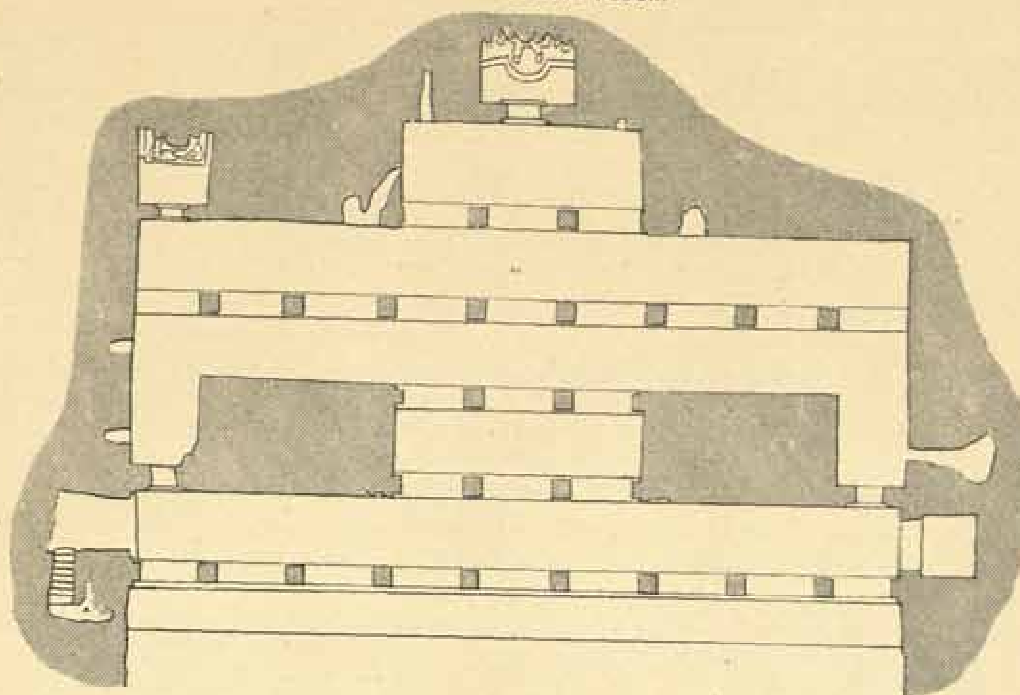
2. TIN THAL-2ND. STOREY.

J. Burgess.

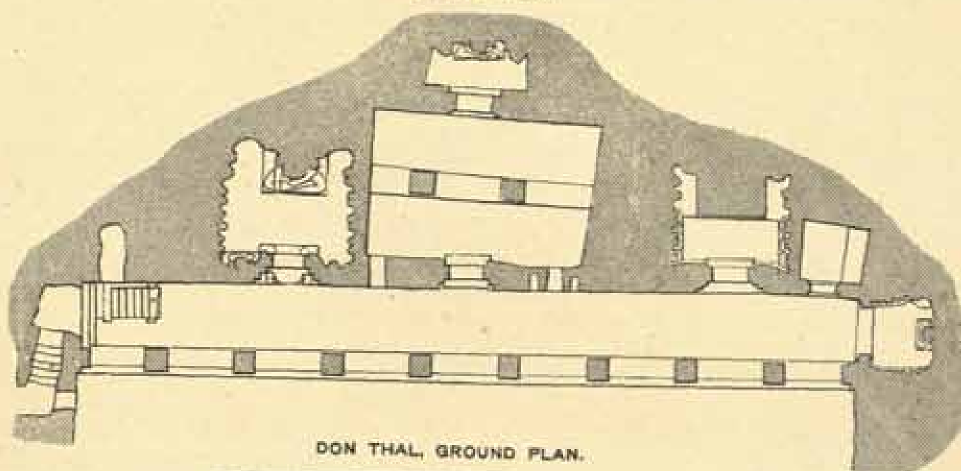
H. Cousens, del.

ELURÂ.

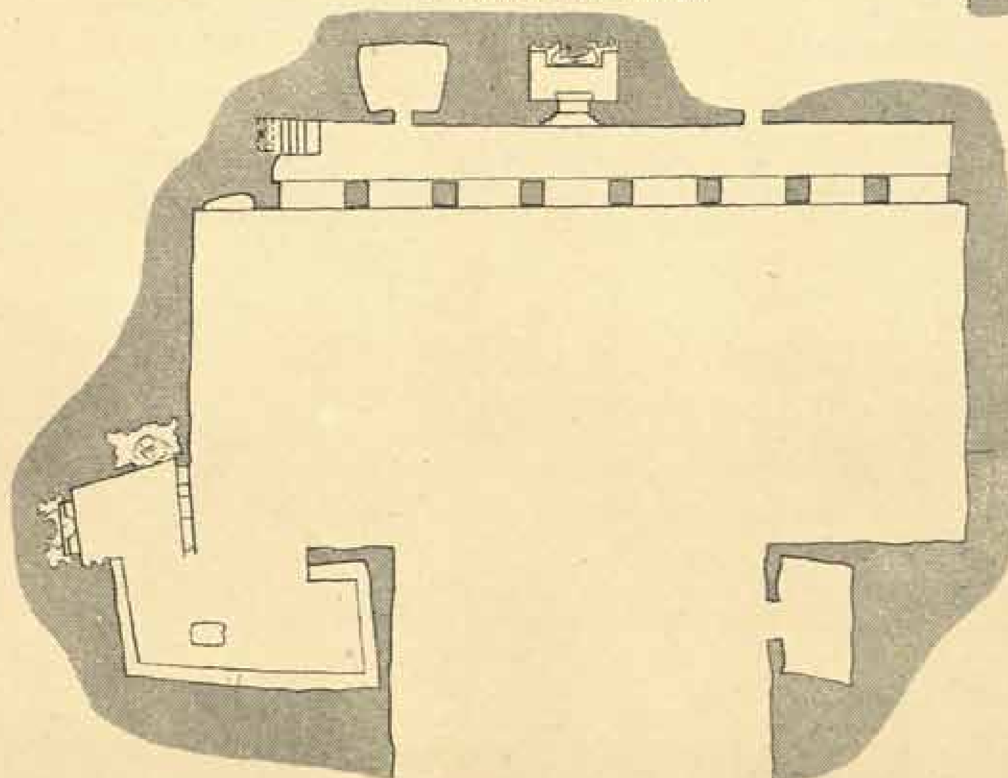
DON THAL SECOND FLOOR.



FIRST FLOOR.



DON THAL, GROUND PLAN.

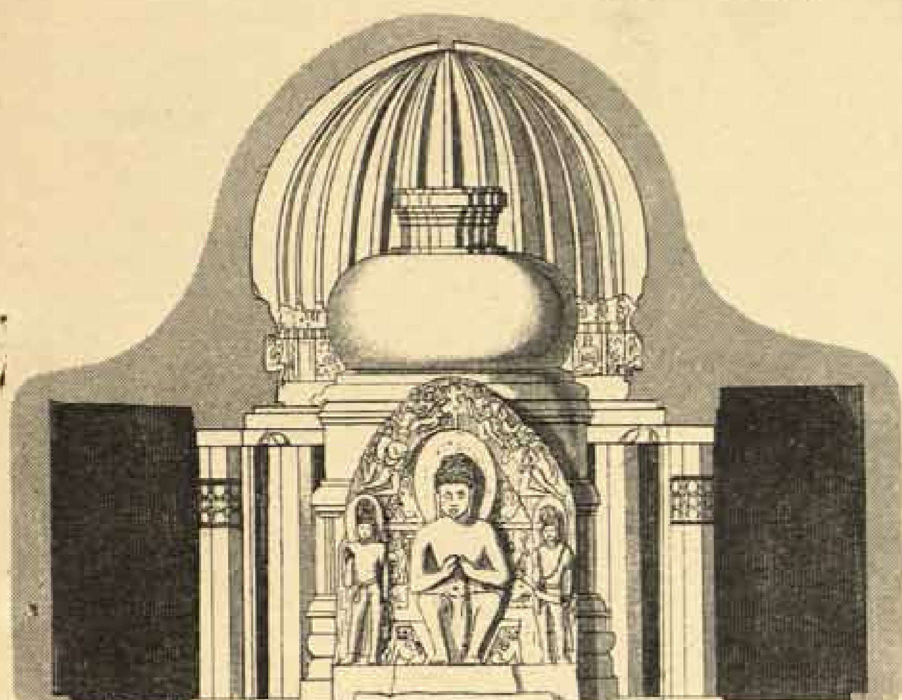


Scale of feet

J Burgess.

H. Cousens, del.

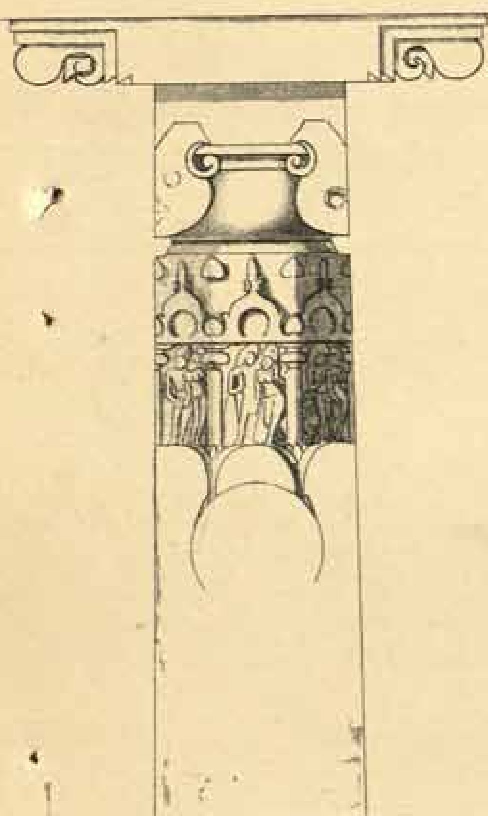
ELURA BAUDDHA CAVES.



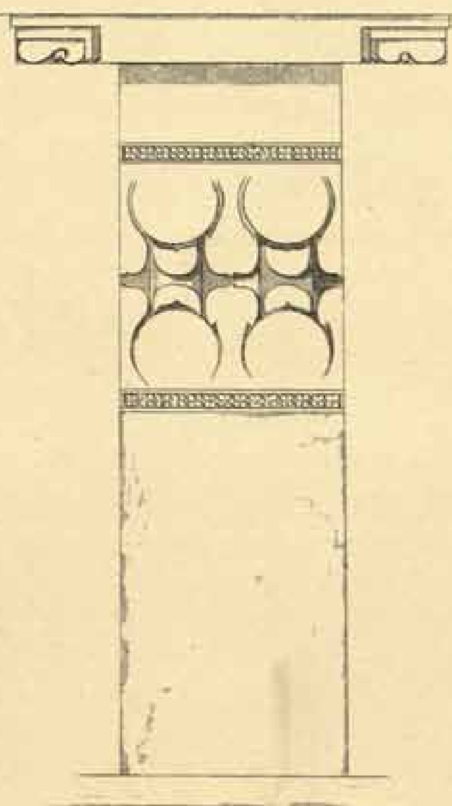
1. TRANSVERSE SECTION OF VISVAKARMA CAVE.



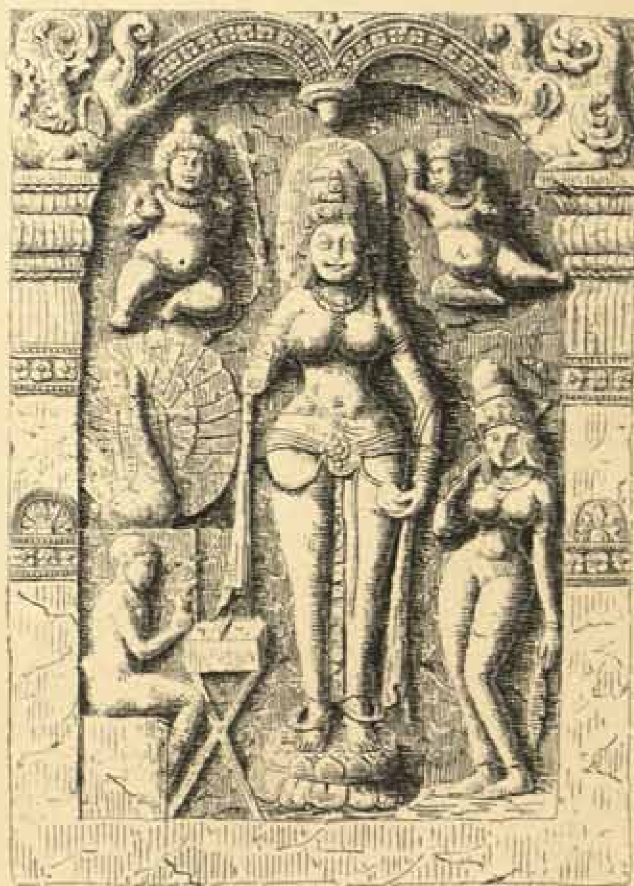
2. PADMAPANI IN CAVE IV.



4. PILLAR IN CAVE IX.



5. PILLAR IN UPPER FLOOR OF DON THAL.



3. SARASVATI IN CAVE VI.

Scale of 1 2 3 4 5 6 feet.

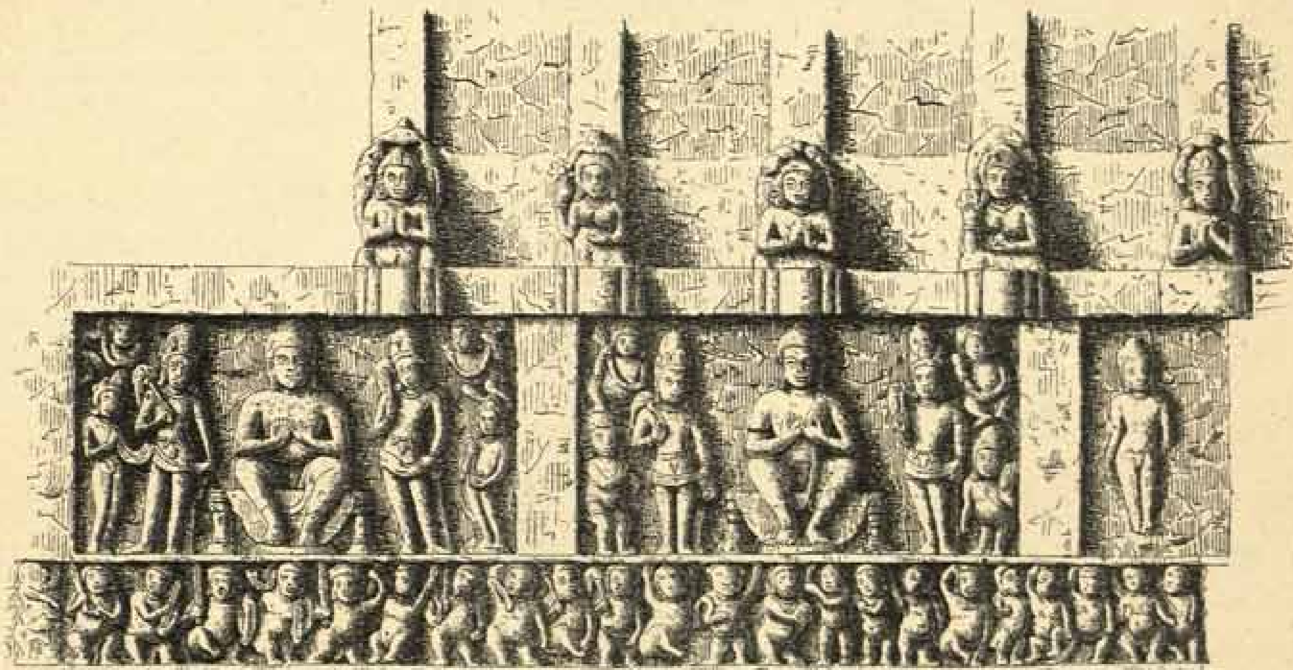
J. Burgess.

ELURA.

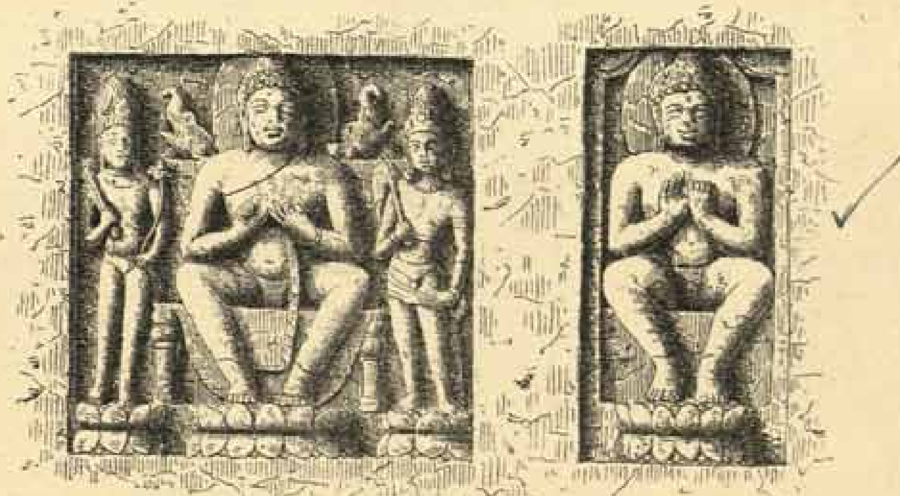
DETAILS FROM VISWAKARMA CAVE.



1. SCULPTURE ON THE INNER SIDE OF THE GALLERY.



2. PART OF THE TRIFORIUM.



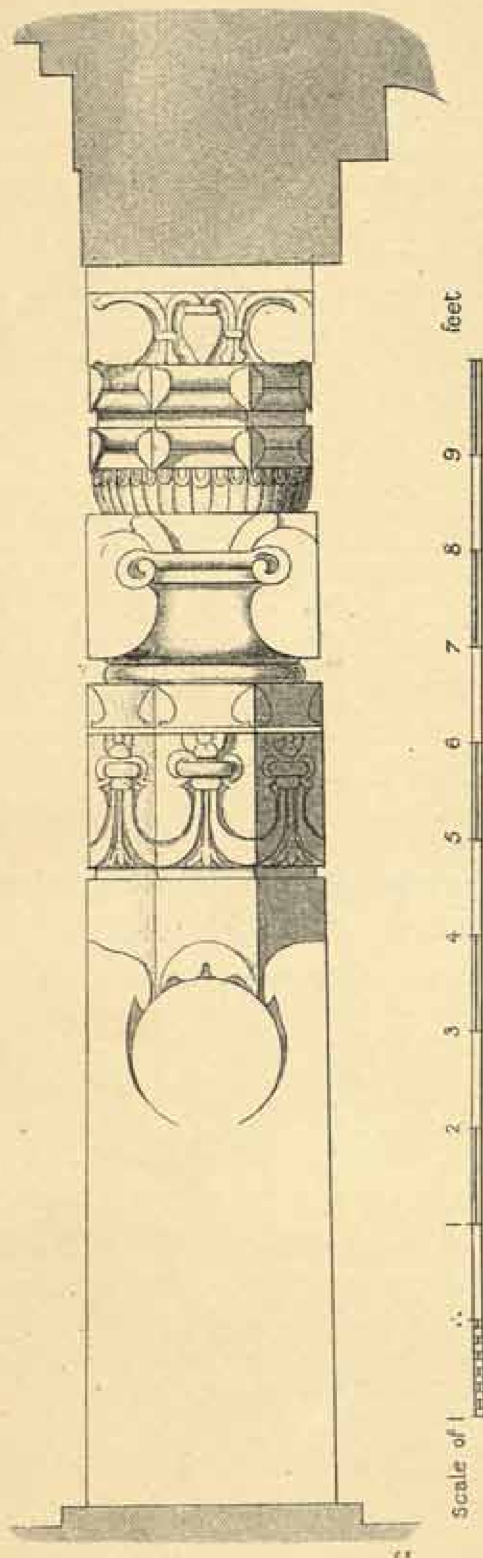
J. Burgess.

3. SCULPTURES FROM THE DAGOBA.

Scale of 1 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 feet

ELURA BUDDHIST CAVES.

1. INSCRIPTION ON THE VIŚVAKARMA CAVE.



2. PILLAR UNDER THE GALLERY, IN VIŚVAKARMA CAVE.



3. SCULPTURE IN THE TIN THAL CAVE.



4. BUDDHA AND ATTENDANTS:—BAGH CAVES.

J. Burgess.

ELURÂ

FIG. 1.



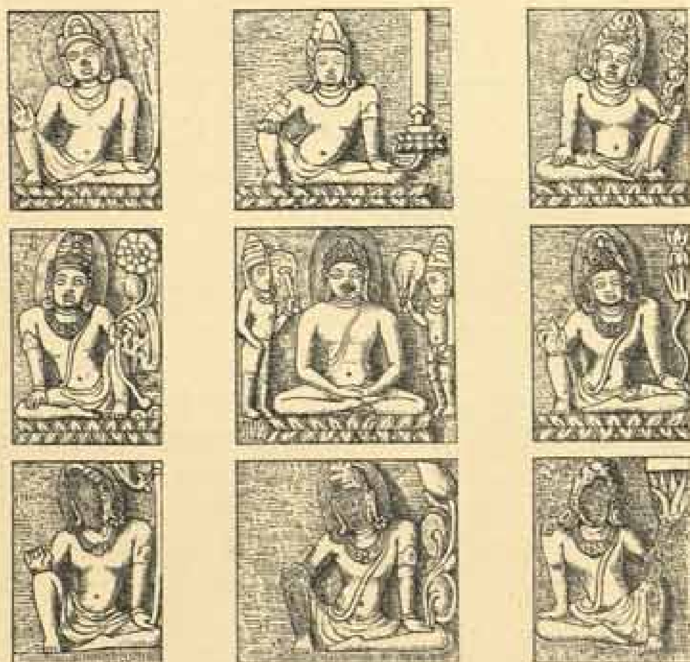
FIG. 2.



FEMALE HEADS
FROM VIŚVAKARMA CAVE.



5. SCULPTURE TO THE LEFT OF THE SHRINE DOOR IN THE TIN THAL, UPPER STOREY.



6. PANEL IN TIN THAL.

Scale of 12 … 5 feet

Scale to figs 5 & 6.



3. HEAD OF AVALOKITEŚVARA
FROM VIŚVAKARMA CAVE.



4. VAJRAPANI
FROM VIŚVAKARMA CAVE.

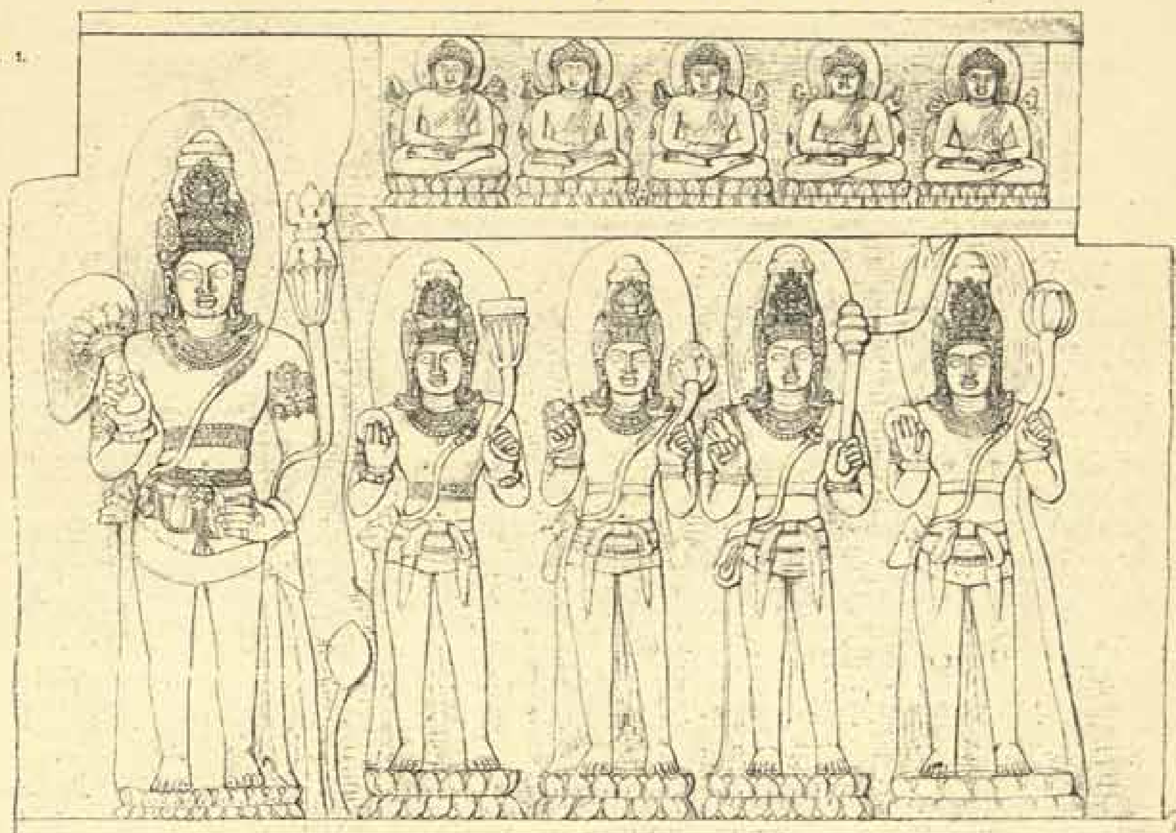
J. Burgess.



ELURÂ

BODHISATTVAS ON THE RIGHT SIDE OF THE SHRINE IN THE TIN THAL.

FIG. 1.



BODHISATTVAS FROM THE BAGH CAVES.

FIG. 2.

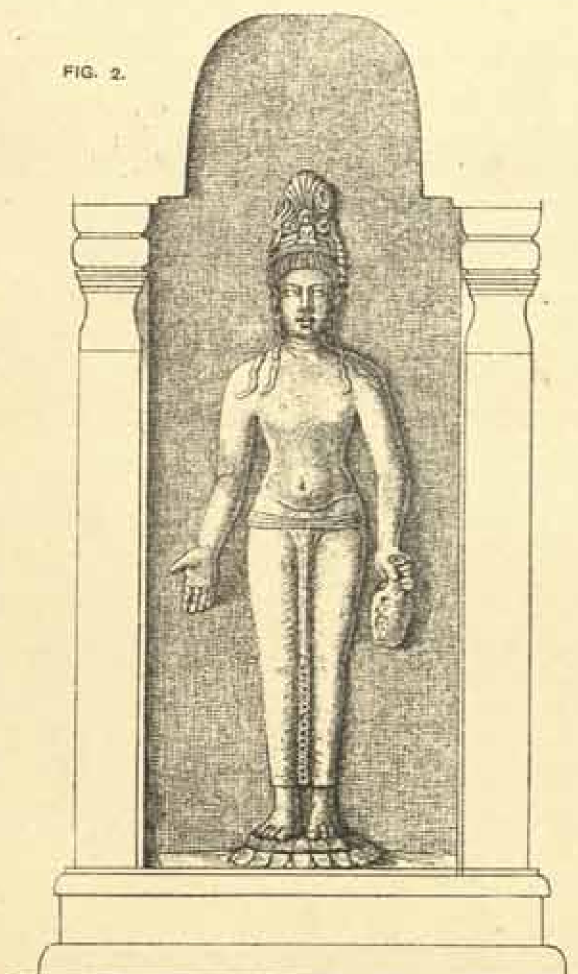
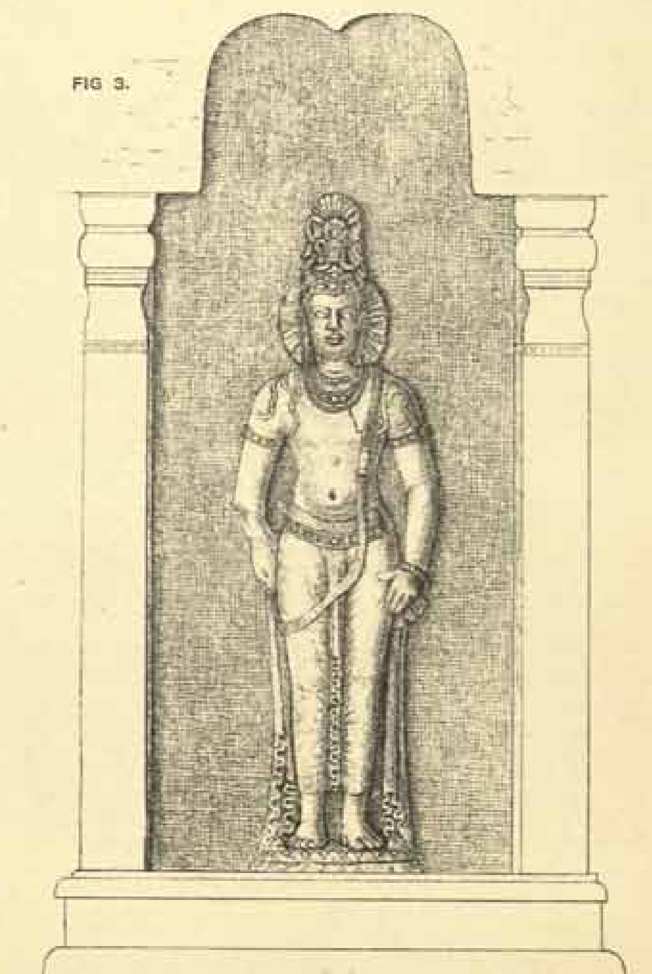


FIG 3.

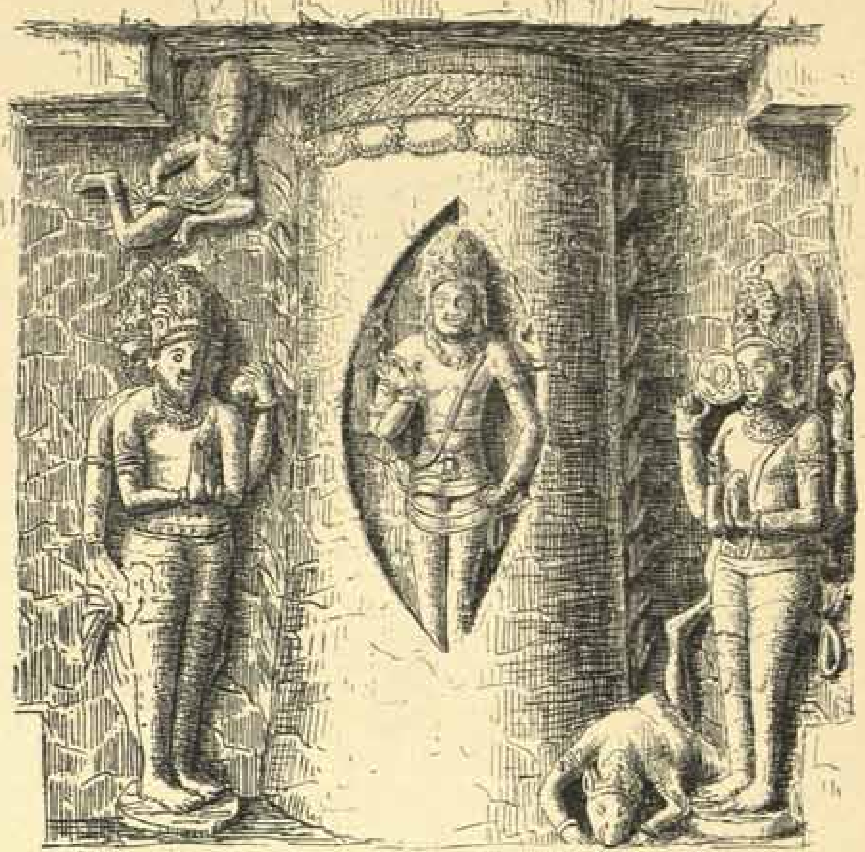


J. Burgess. *W. Griggs, Photo-lith.*

ELURA BRAHMANICAL CAVES.



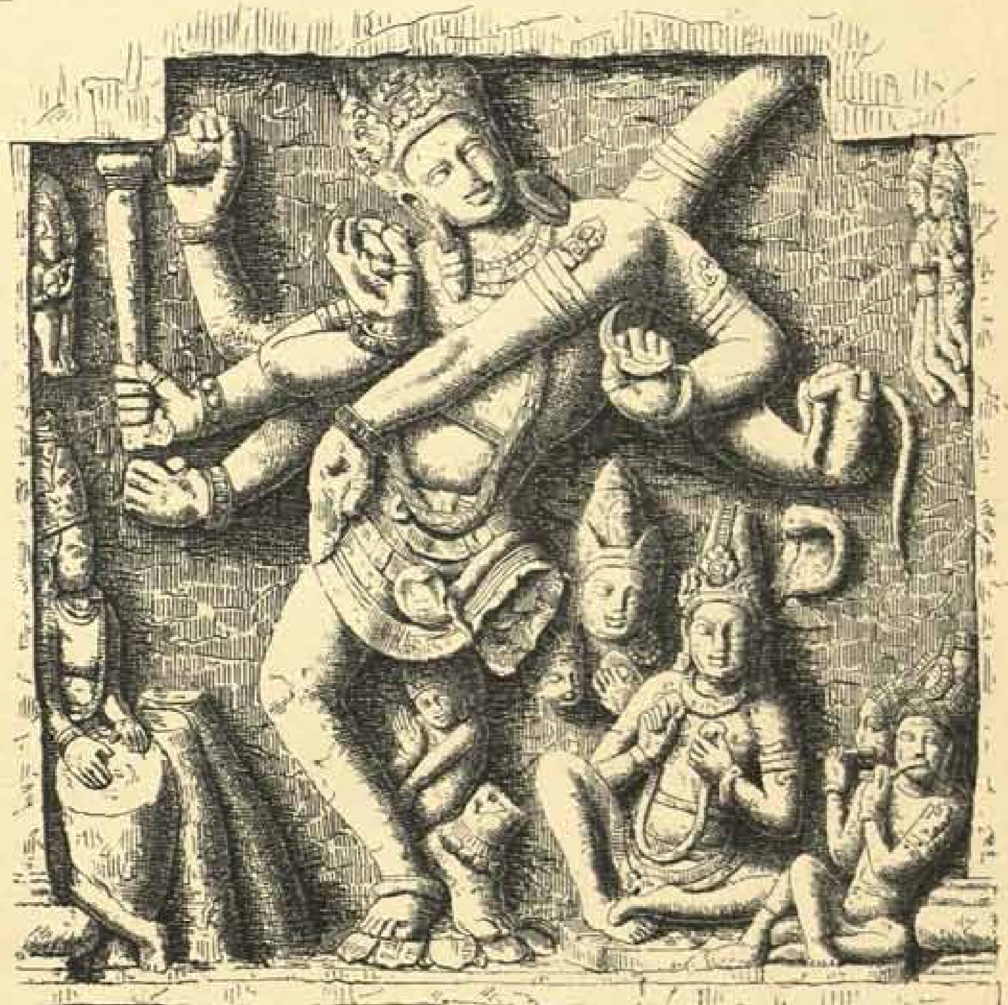
1. PILLAR IN DAS AVATARA.



3. ŚIVA IN THE FLAMING LINGA.



2. SHAFT OF PILASTER.



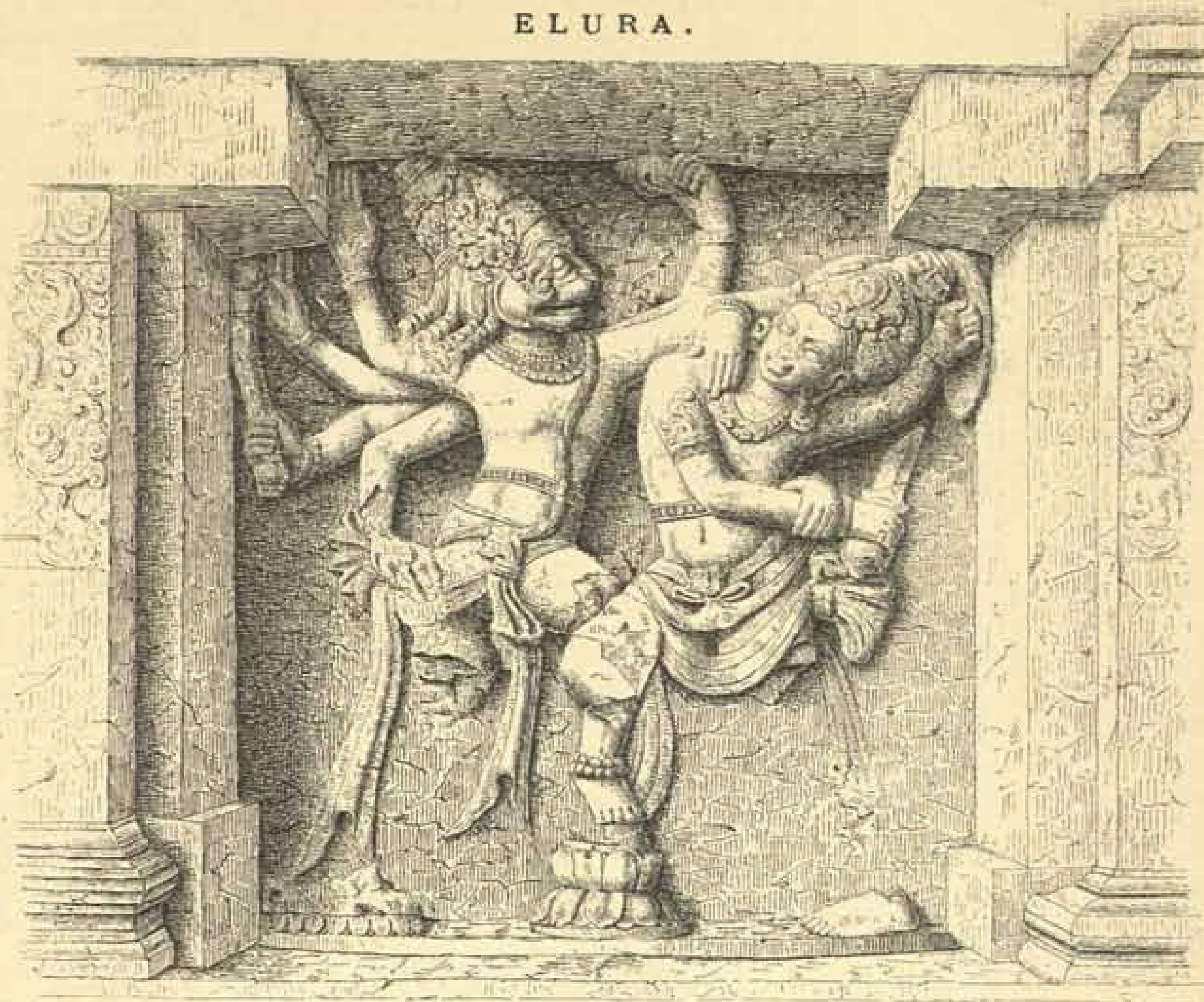
4. ŚIVA DANCING THE TANDAVA IN THE DAS AVATARA.

Scale of 12" 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 feet

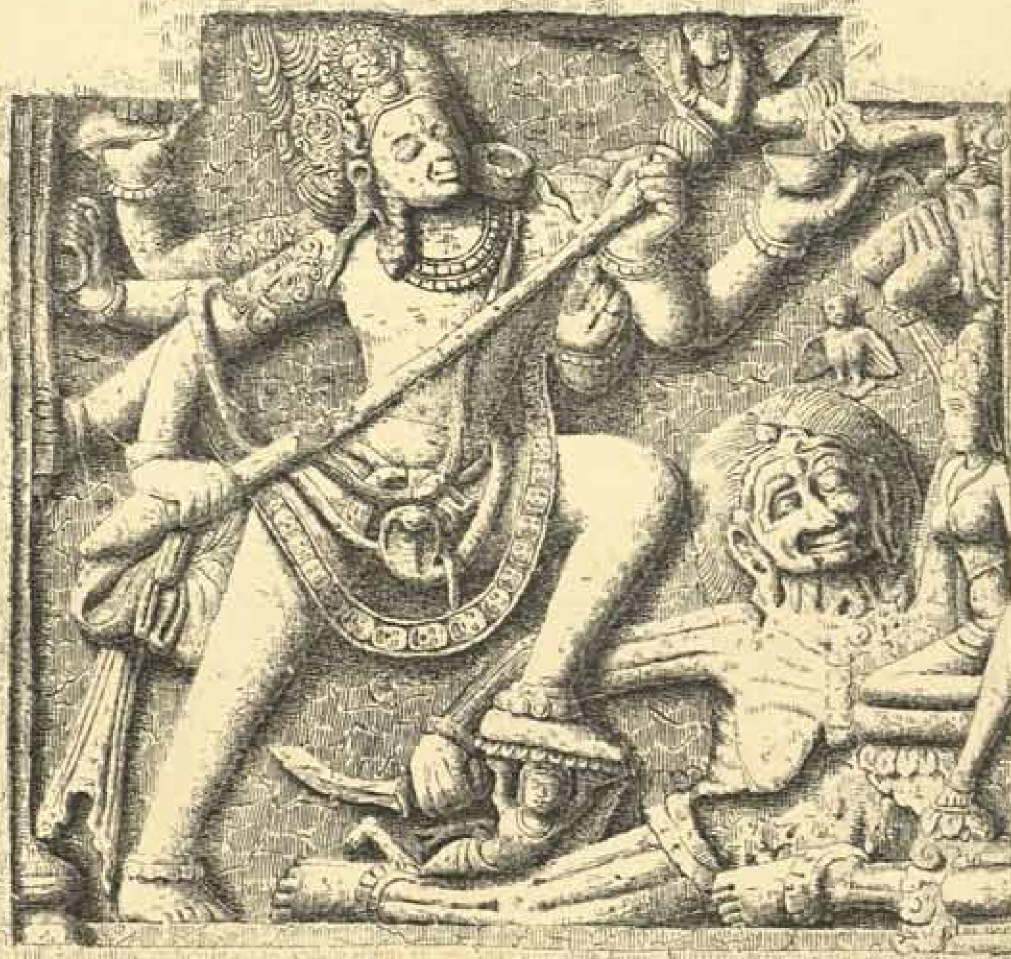
J. Burgess.

H. Cousens del.

ELURA.



1. NARASIMHA & HIRANYAKASIPU IN THE DAS AVATARA.



2. BHAIRAVA IN THE DAS AVATARA.

Scale of 12 ... 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 feet.

J. Burgess. *W. Griggs, Photo-lith.*

PLATE XXIII.

ELUR

1. TRANSVERSE

H. Cousens, del.

2. SECTION OF THE D ARA CAVE



C. M. Sykes, del.

J. Burgess.



ELURA BRAHMANICAL CAVES.



1. ŚIVA RESCUING MÂRKANDEYA–FROM THE DAS AVATARA.

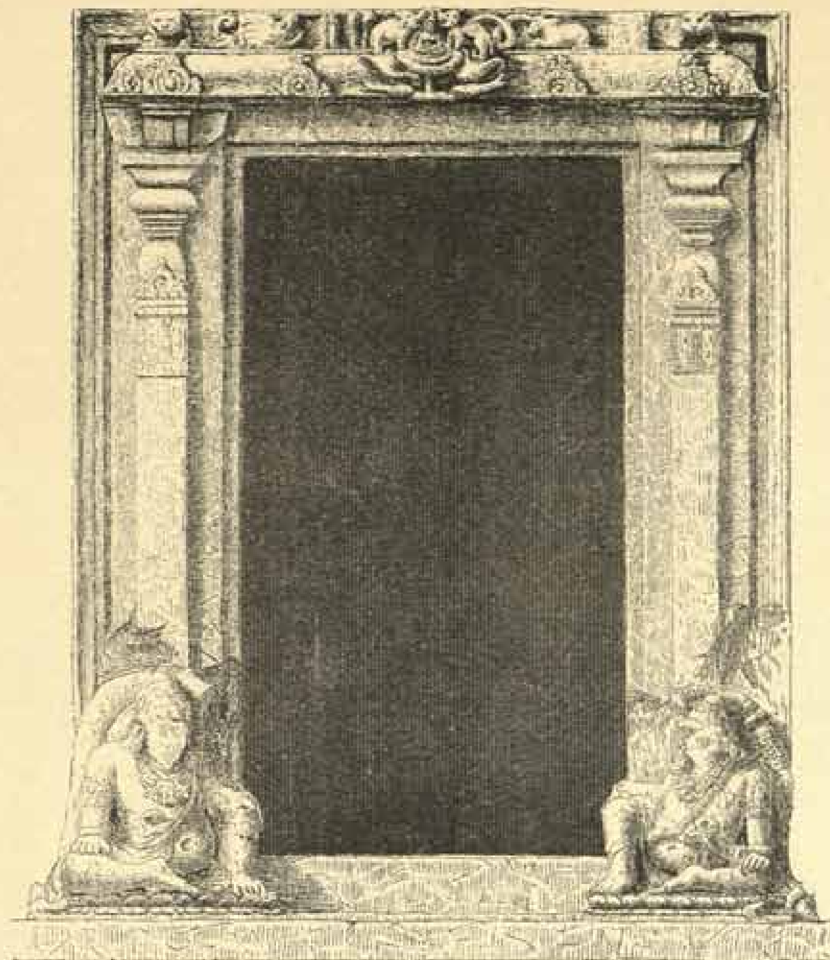
2. ŚIVA RESCUING MÂRKANDEYA–FROM KAILASA.

Scale of 12" . . 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 feet

J. Burgess.

H. Cousens, del.

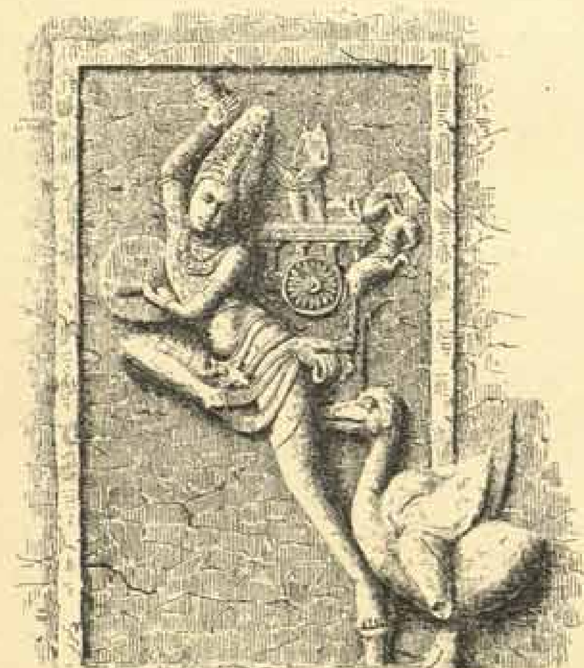
ELURA CAVE TEMPLES.



1. DOOR IN THE THIRD STOREY IN SOUTH SIDE OF THE COURT IN KAILASA.



2. ON THE EAST SIDE OF THE SOUTH PORCH. IN KAILASA.



3. ON THE WEST SIDE OF THE SOUTH PORCH. IN KAILASA.



4. IN CAVE XXIV.



5. IN CAVE XXII

J. Burgess.

Scale ... feet.

ELURA.-KAILASA.



1. SCULPTURE ON THE FRONT OF THE MANDAPA.

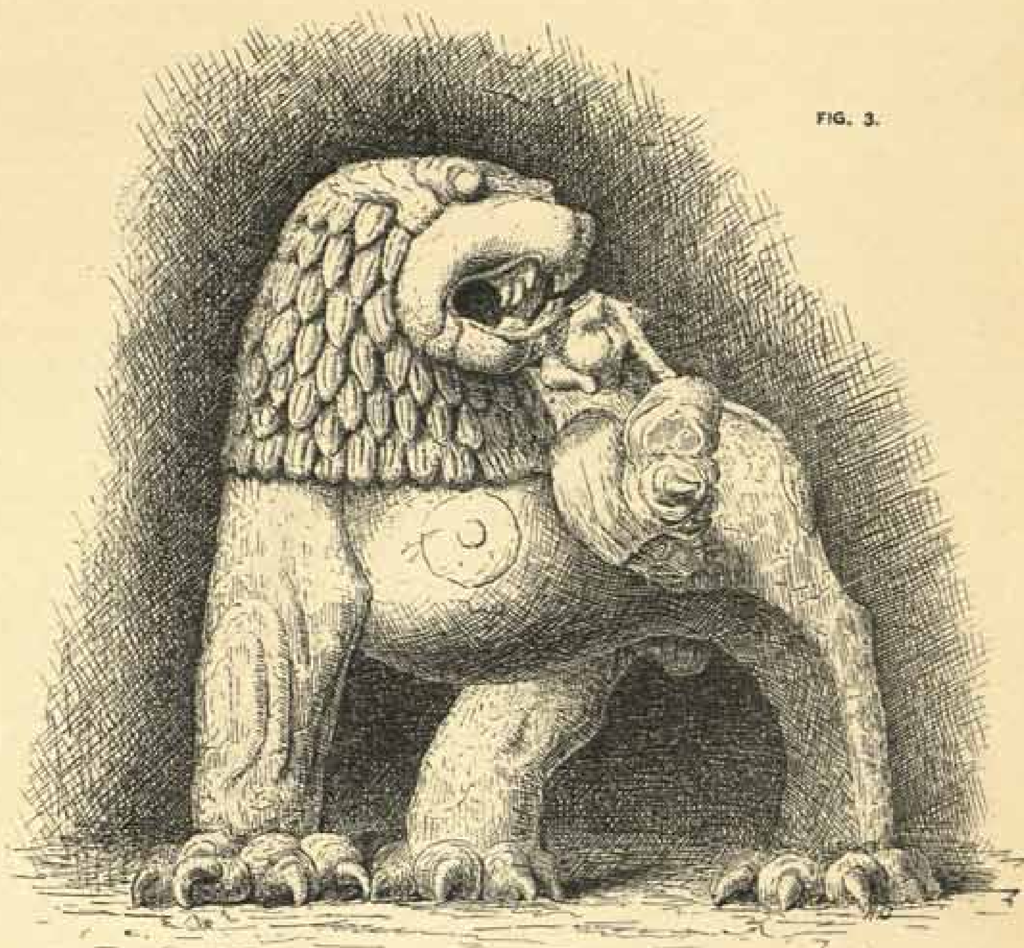


FIG. 3.

LIONS ON THE ROOF OF THE MANDAPA.



2. KAMADEVA AND RATI.

Scale to figs 1 & 2.

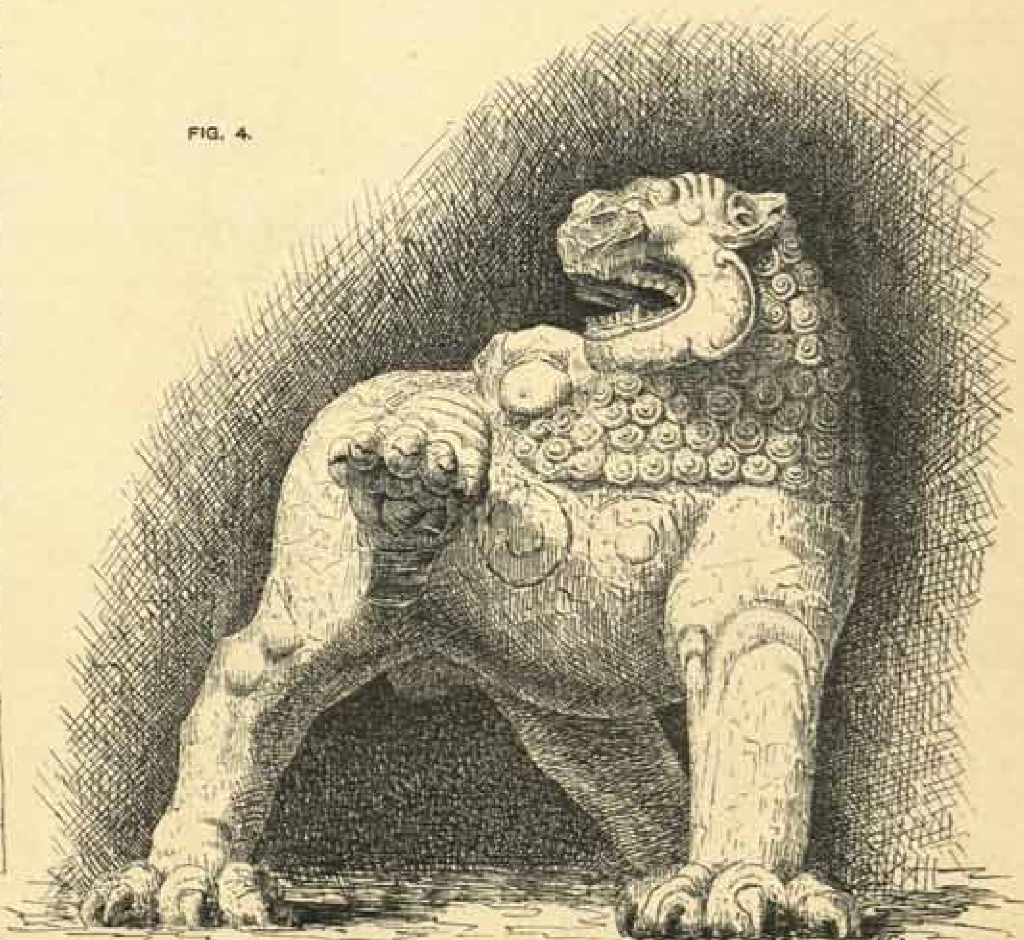
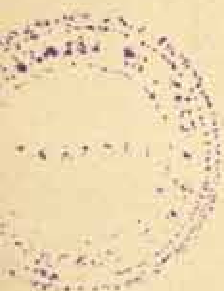


FIG. 4.

J. Burgess.

H. Cousens, del.



ELURA.

SCULPTURES FROM THE NORTH CORRIDOR IN THE COURT OF KAILASA.

FIG. 1.

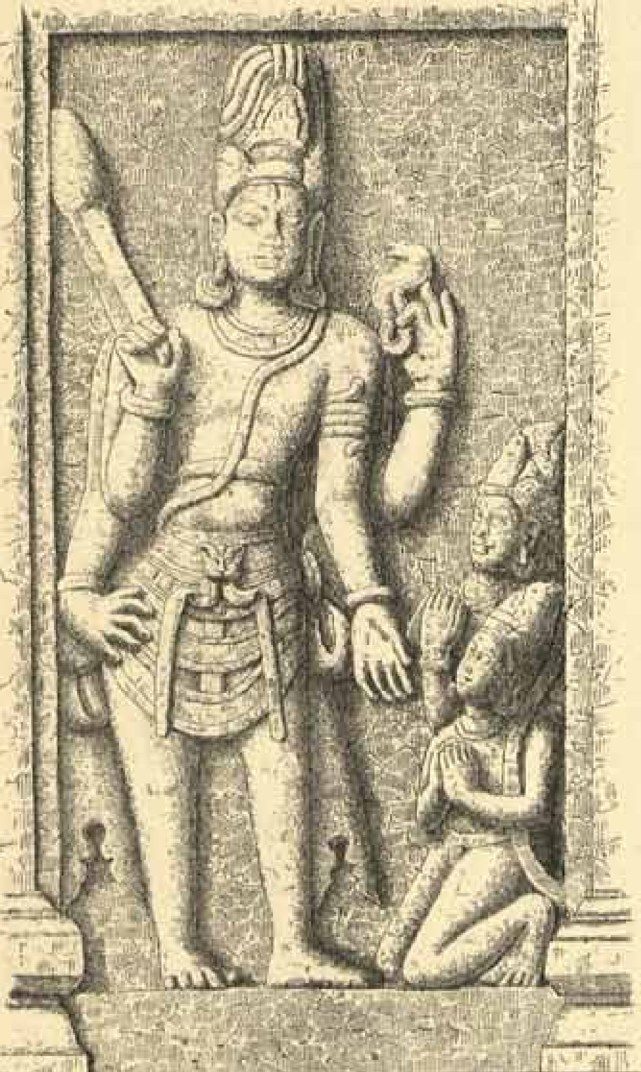


FIG. 2.

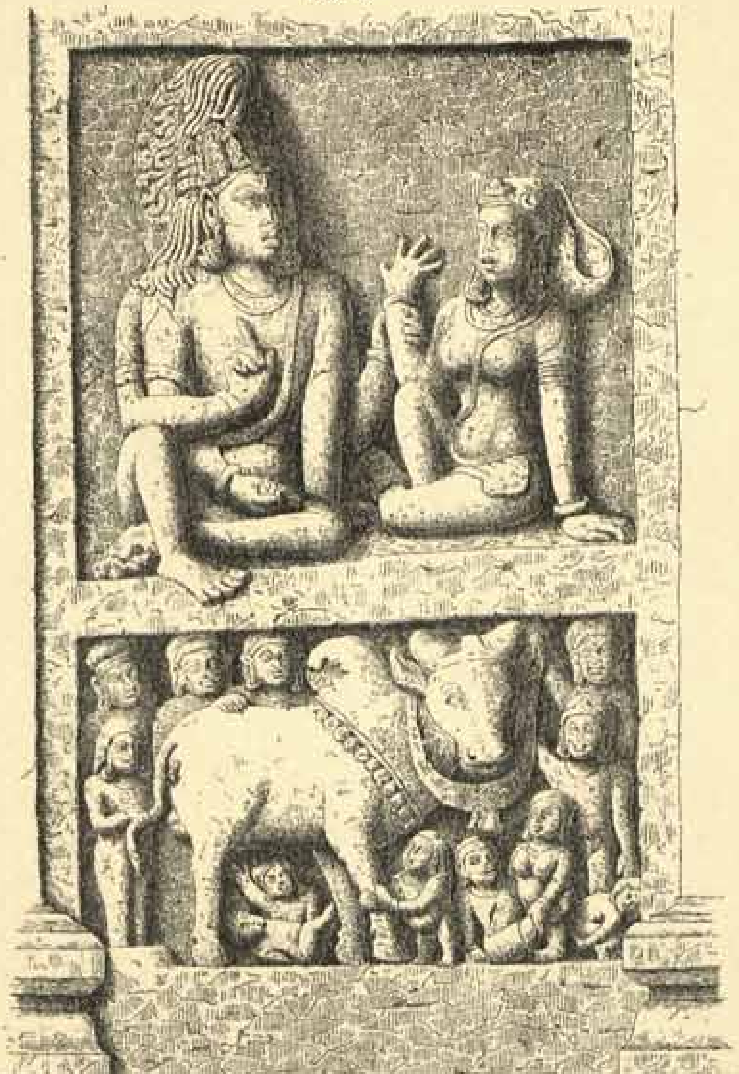


FIG. 3.

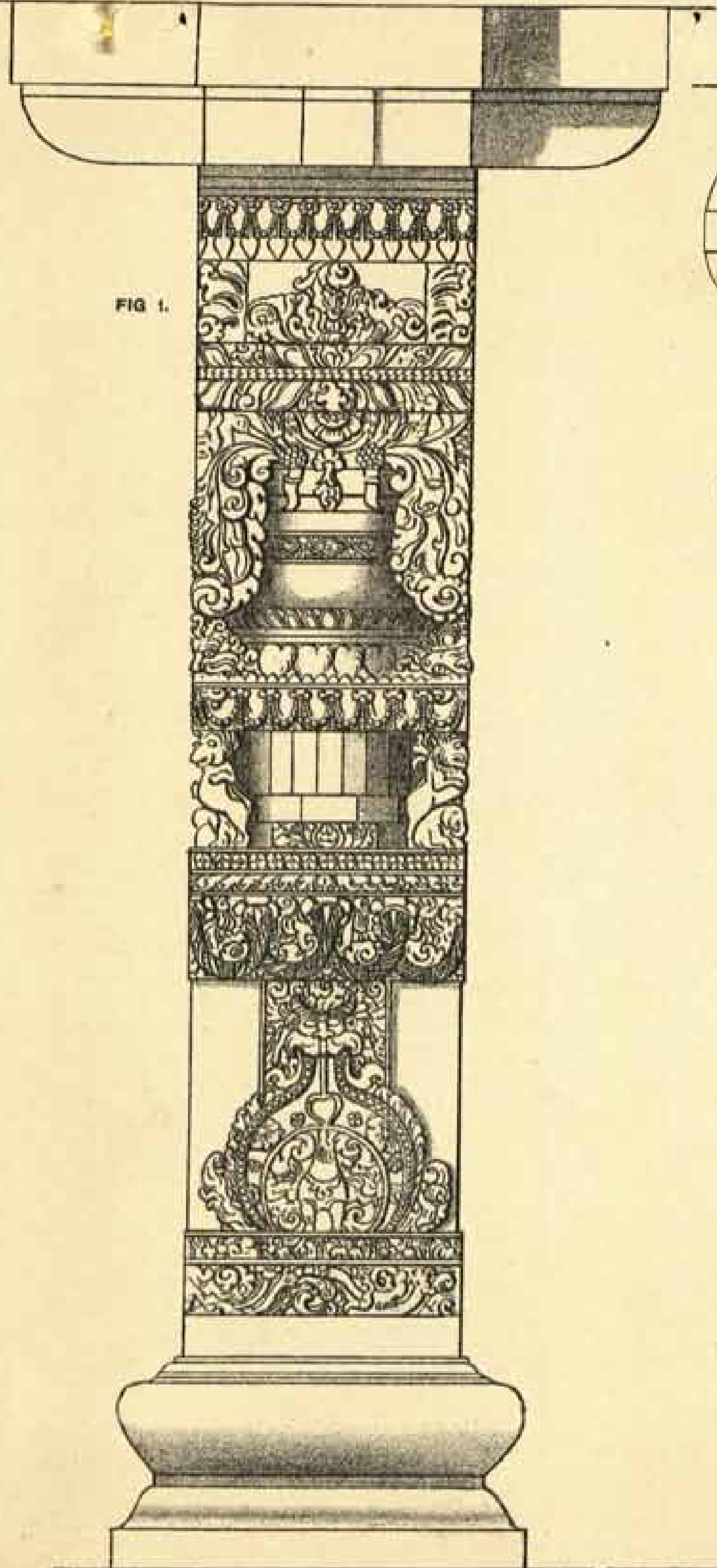


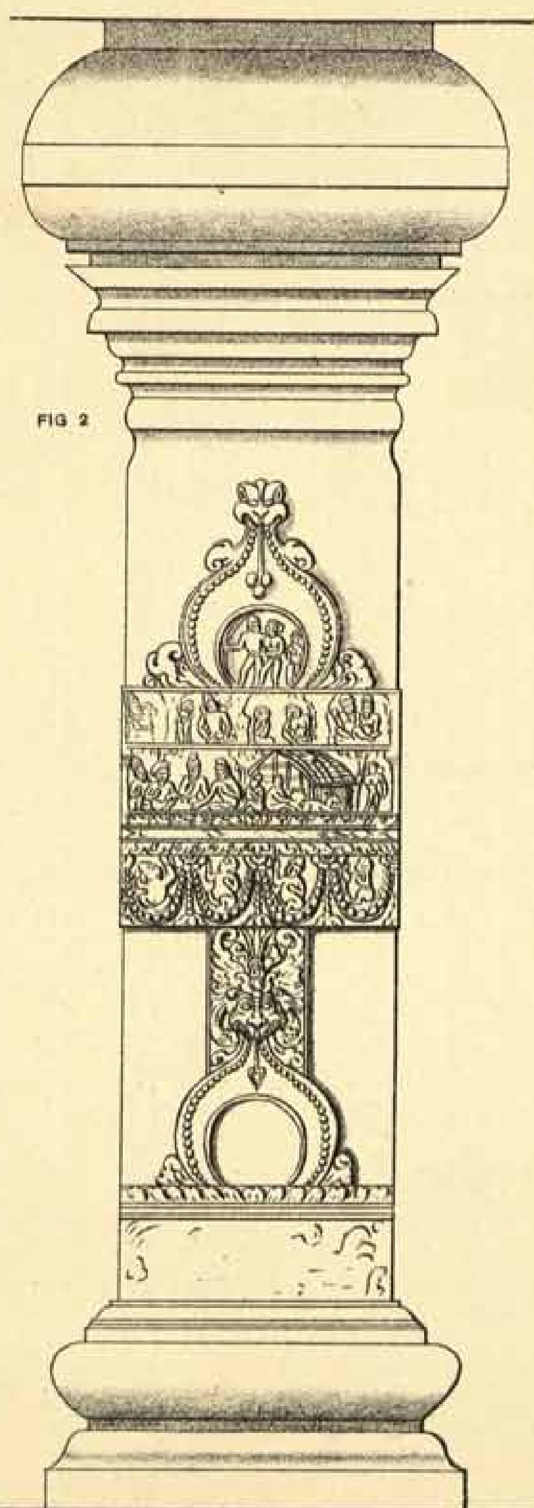
J. Burgess.

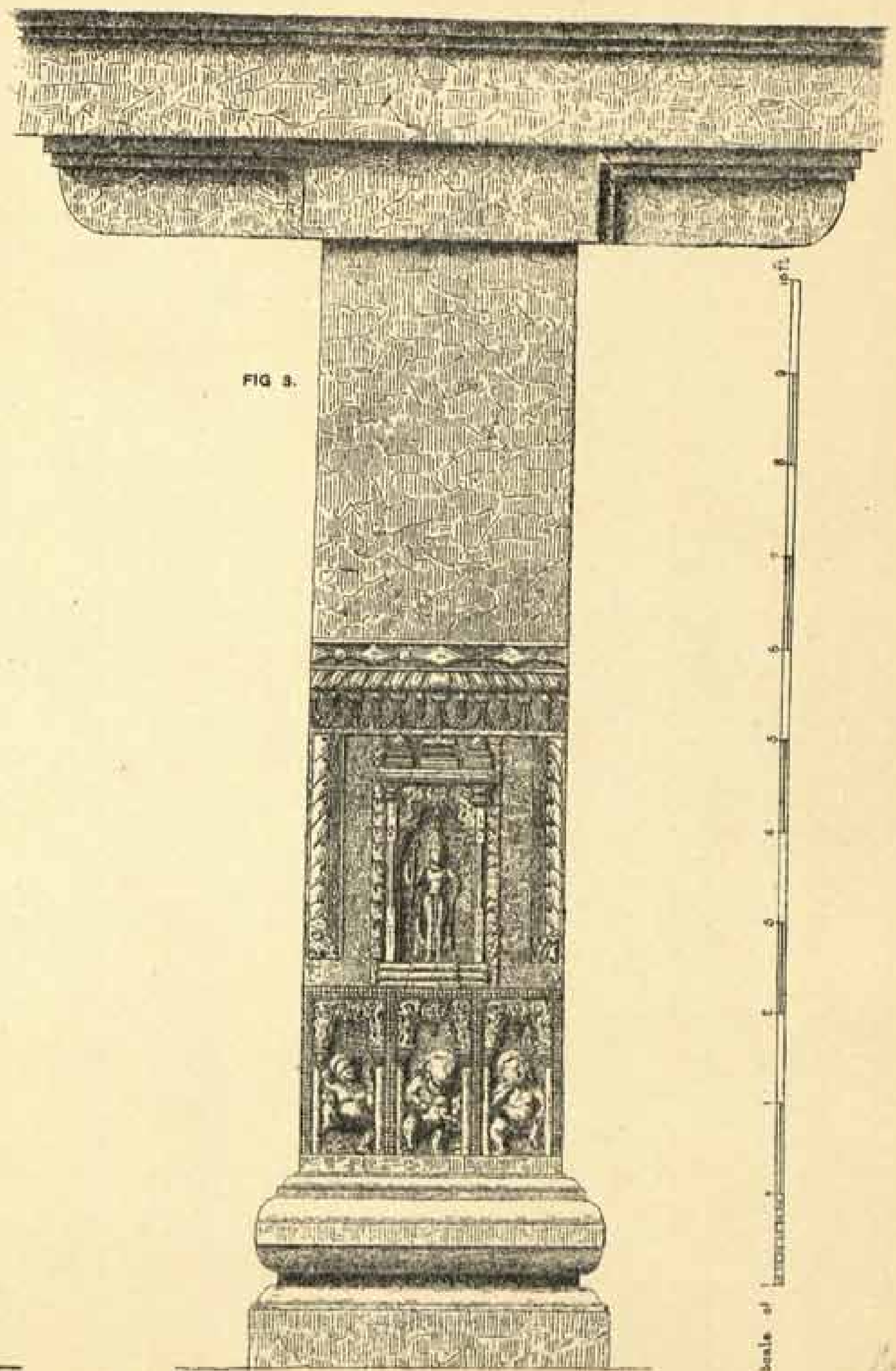
S. J. Pacheco, delt.

Scale of | 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 feet.




FIG 1.


FIG 2


FIG 3.



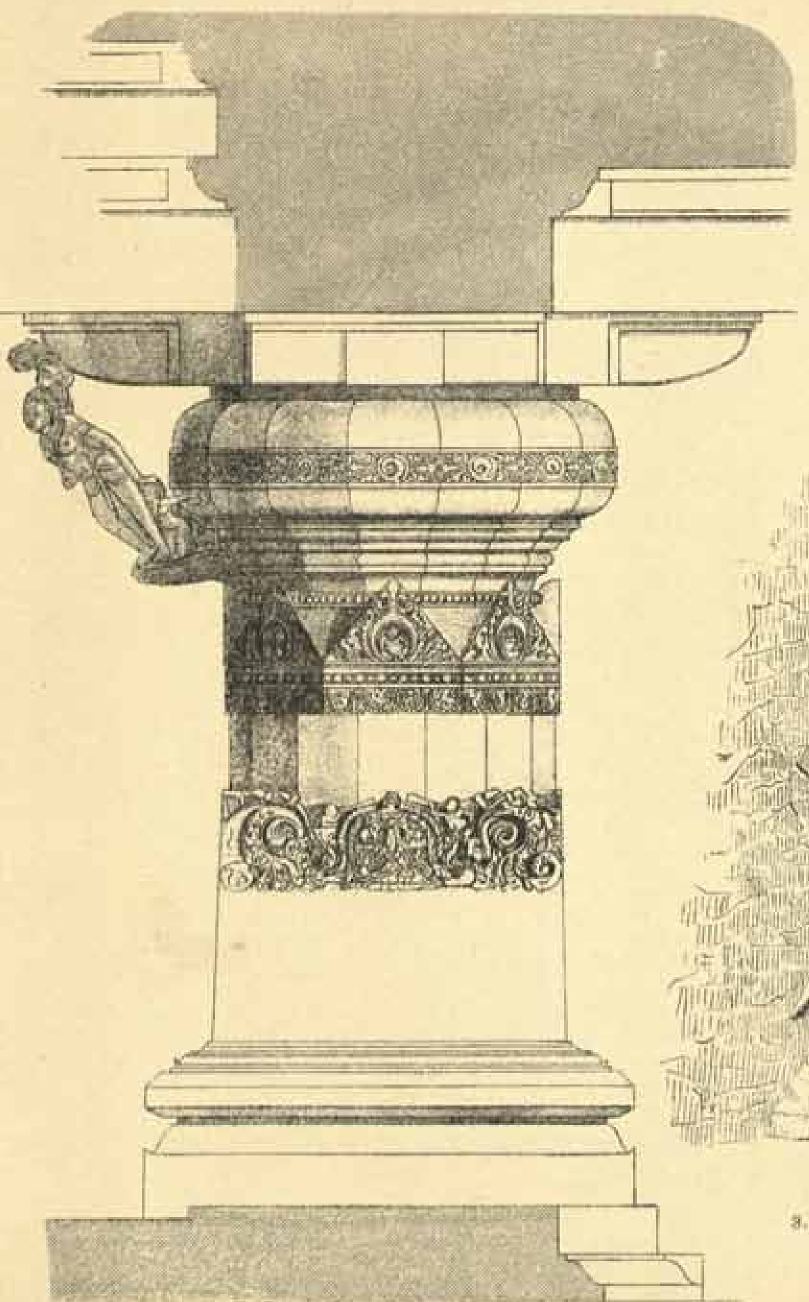
J. Burgess.

ELURA-KAILASA COLMNS.

H. Cousens, del.

PLATE XXVIII

ELURA.-KAILASA.



PILLAR IN THE CENTRAL AREA OF LANKEŚVARA



3. VARAHA ON THE BACK WALL.



H. Cousens del.

2. IN THE FRONT AISLE OF LANKEŚVARA.



J. Burgess.



1. SÛRYA IN LANKEŚVARA.



2. UMÂ IN LANKEŚVARA.

H. Cousens.

3. BRAHMA, ŚIVA, AND VISHNU IN LANKEŚVARA.

Scale of 12' 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Feet.

J. Burgess,

ELURA:-KAILASA ROCK-TEMPLE.

1. PANEL ON THE SOUTH SIDE OF THE SHRINE IN KAILASA.



2. ANOTHER PANEL ON THE SOUTH SIDE OF THE SHRINE.



3. ON THE SOUTH SIDE OF THE BASEMENT OF THE NANDI MANDAPA.



Scale of 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

J. Burgess.

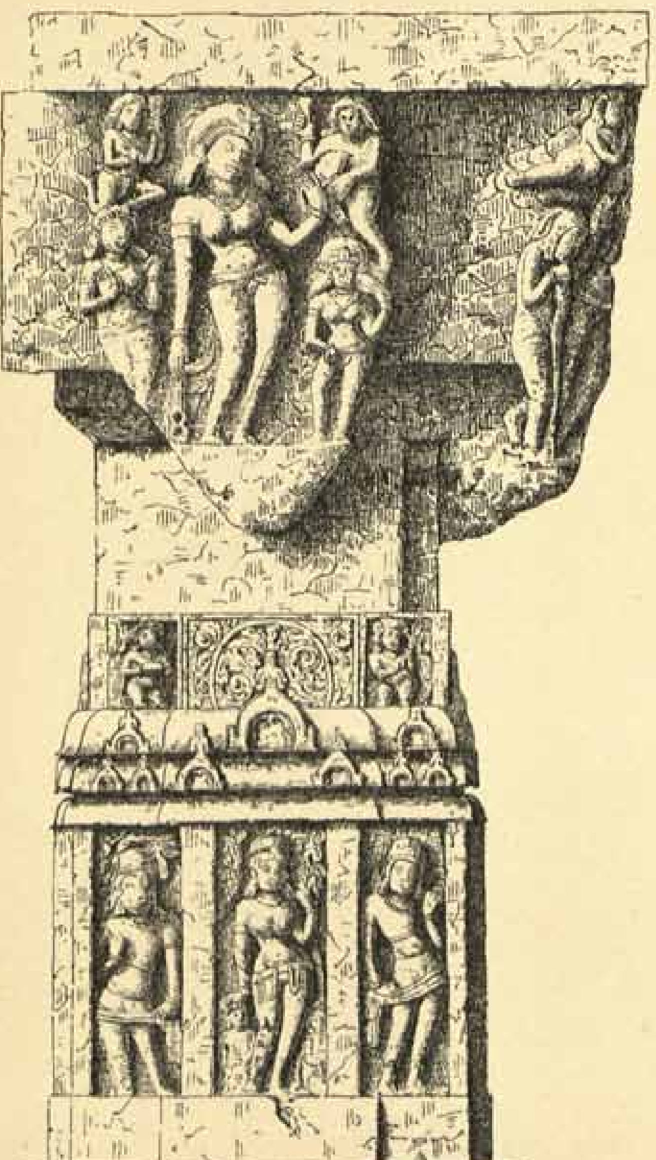
ELURÂ.

J. Burgess.

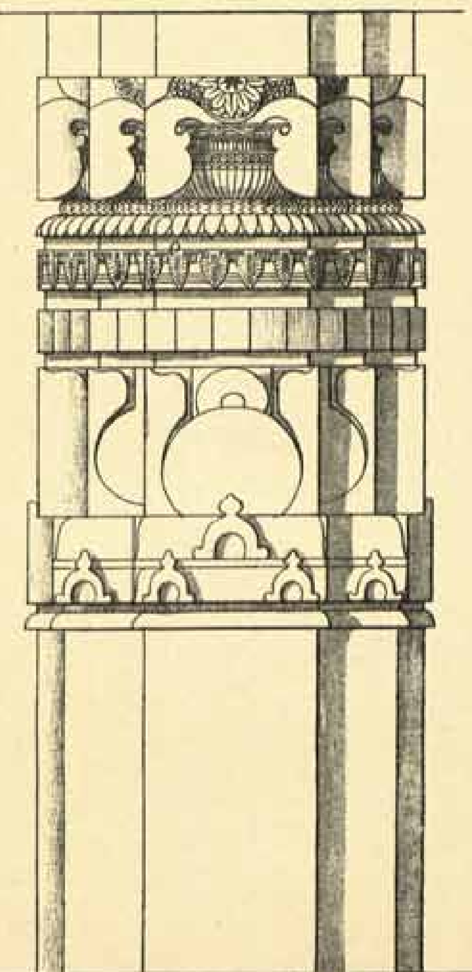
C. M. Sykes, del.

ELURA.

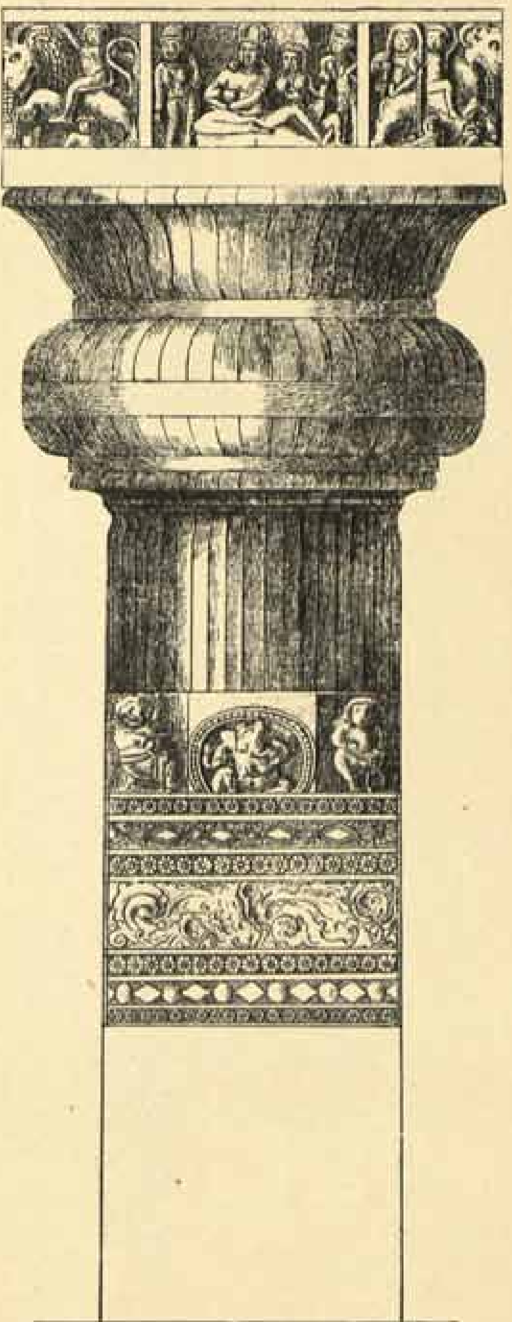
1. PILLAR IN CAVE XVII.



2. PILLAR IN CAVE XVII.



3. PILLAR IN RAMEŚVARA



Scale of 1 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 feet

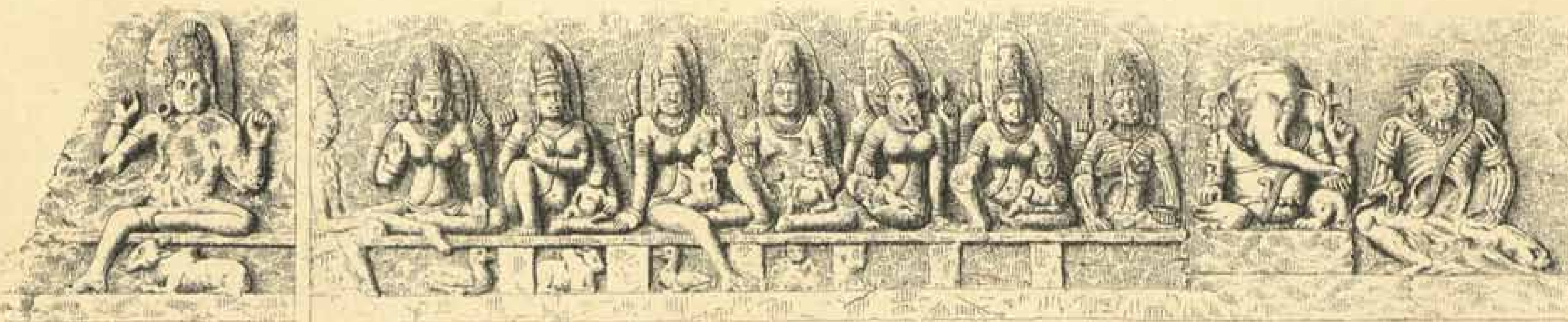
J. Burgess.

W. Griggs, Photo-lith.

ELURA

1. SAPTAMÂTRIS IN RÂMEŚVARA.

2. END OF THE CHAPEL

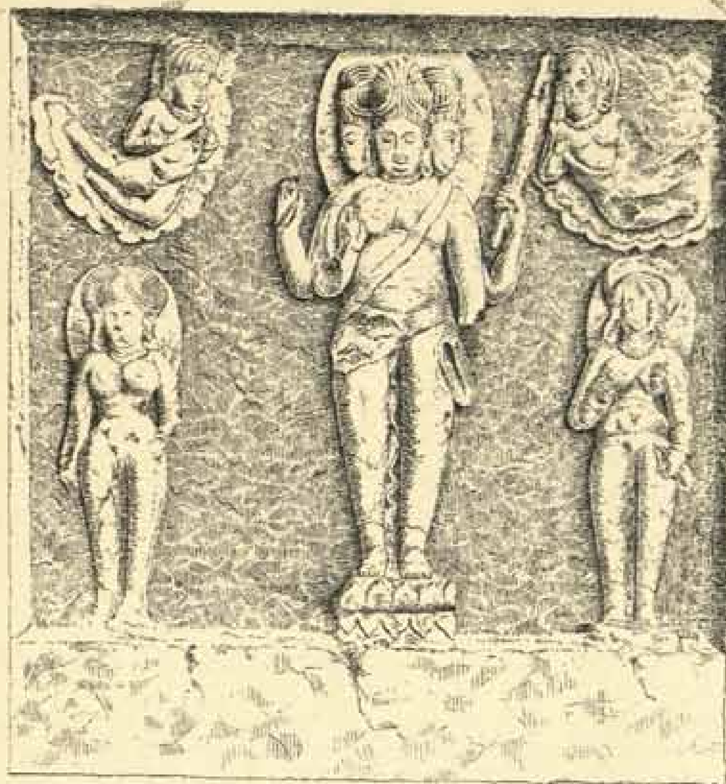


3. SAPTAMÂTRIS IN CAVE XXII.

J. Burgess,

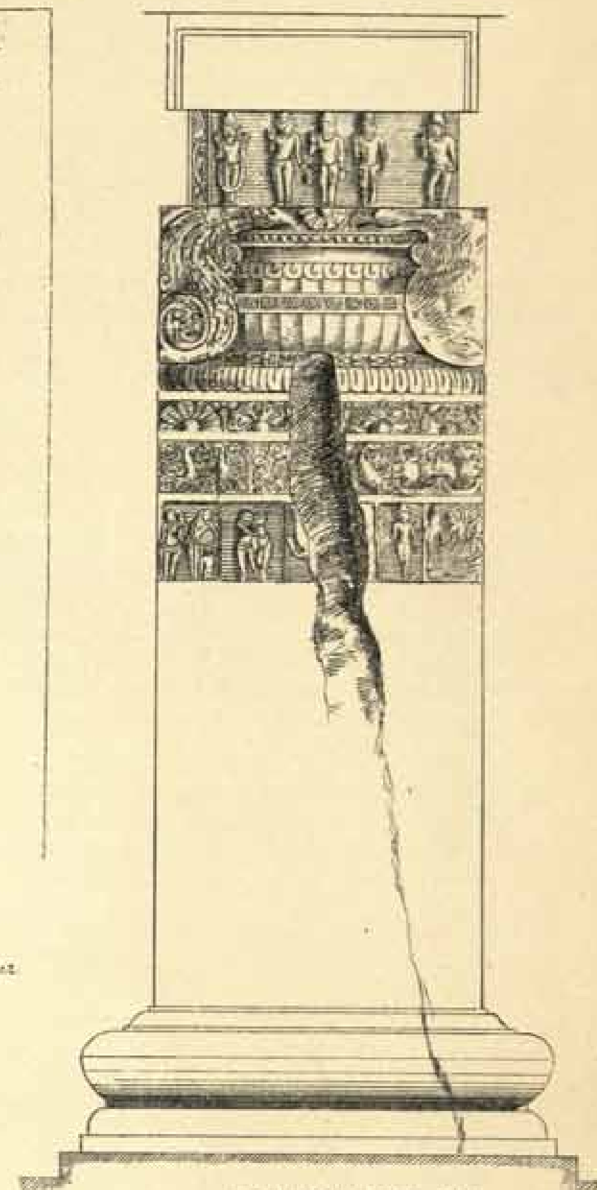
Scale of 1 . 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 feet.

ELURA BRAHMANICAL CAVES.



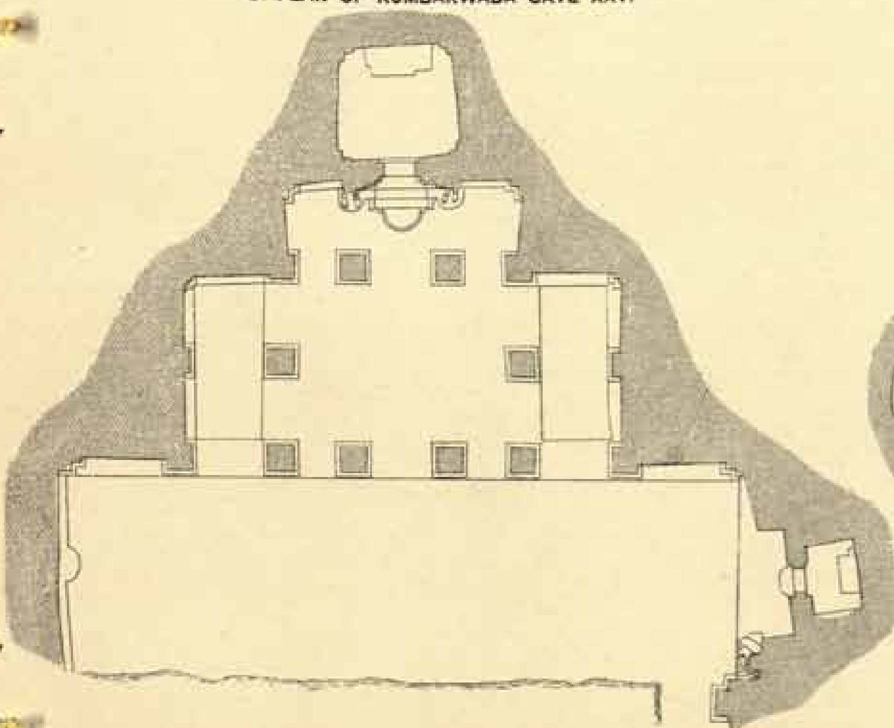
1. BRAHMA AT THE END OF THE VERANDAH CAVE XVII.



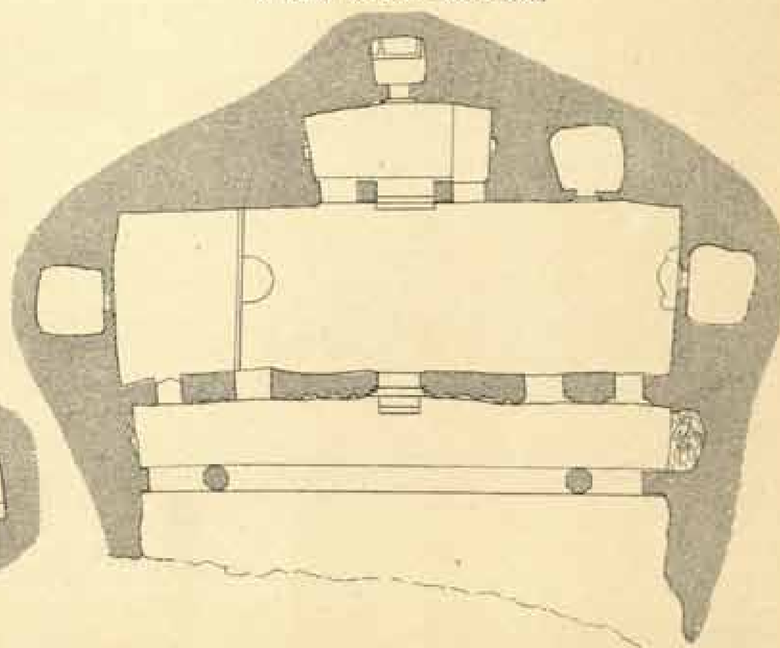


2. PILLAR IN CAVE XXV.

3. PLAN OF KUMBARWADA CAVE XXV.



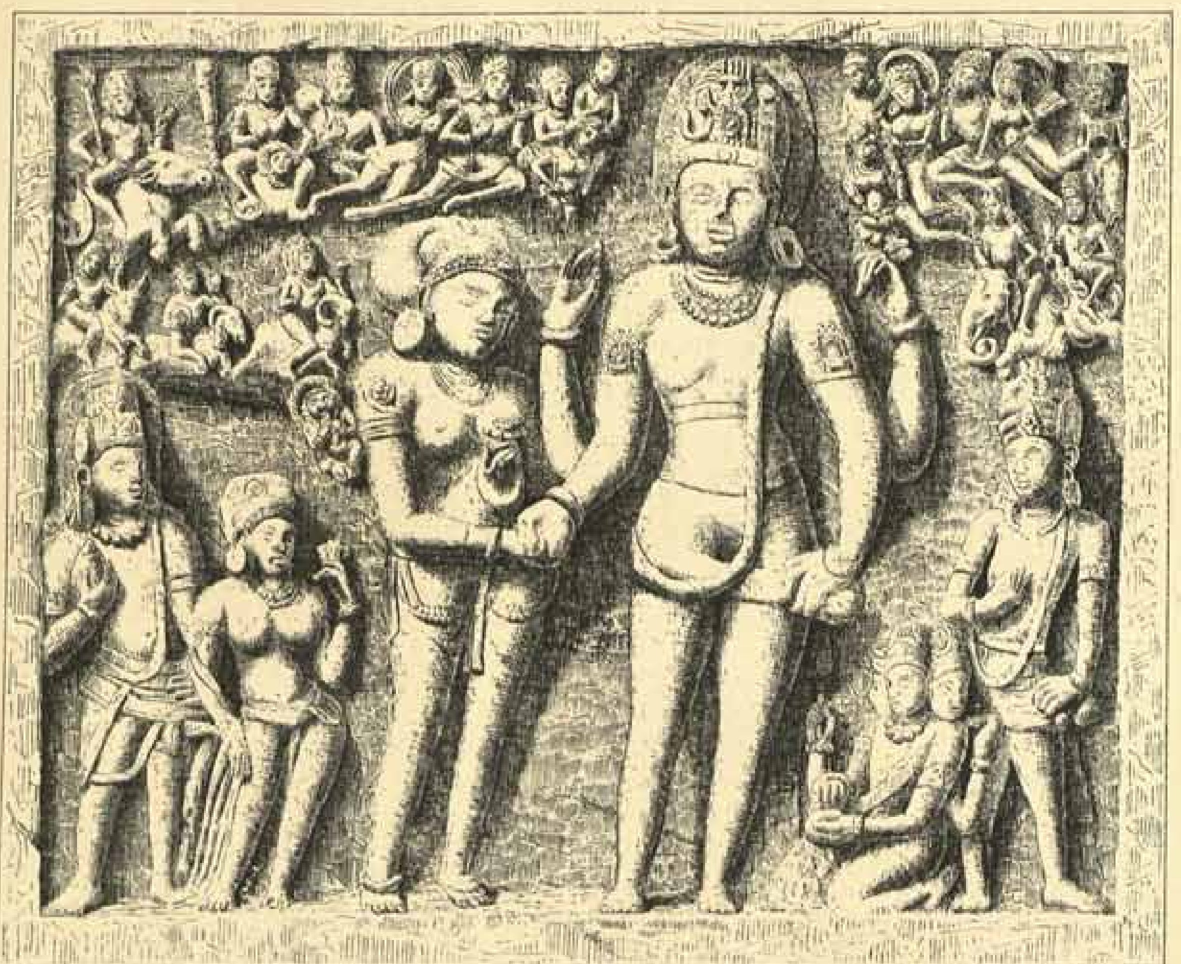
4. PLAN OF CAVE NO. XXVII.



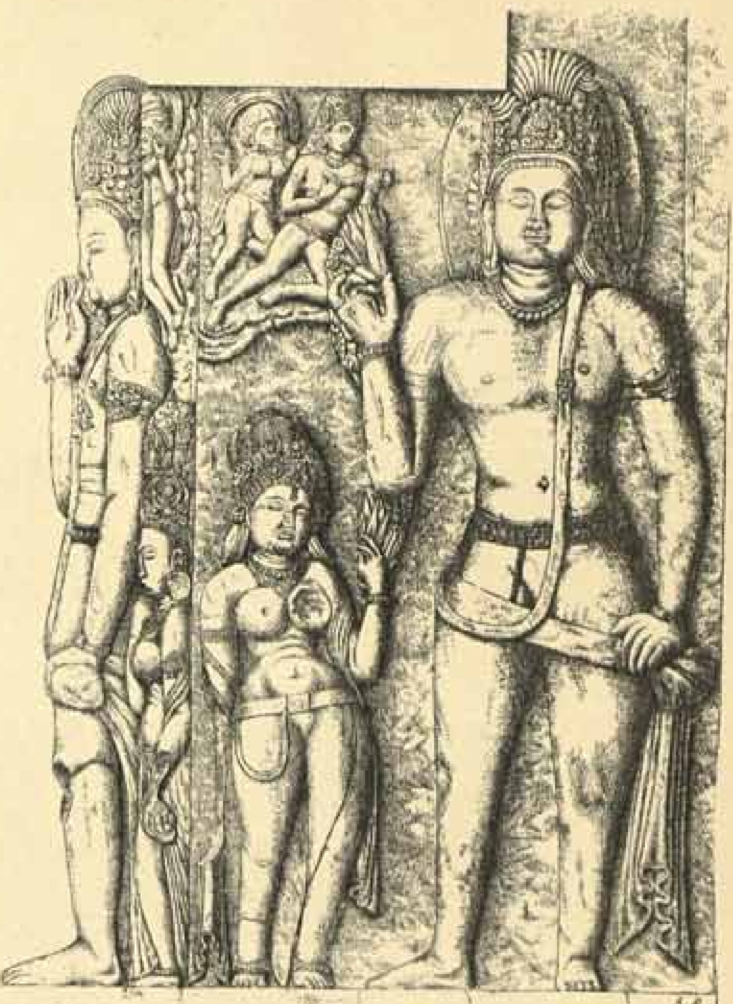


J. Burgess.

ELURA BRAHMANICAL CAVES.



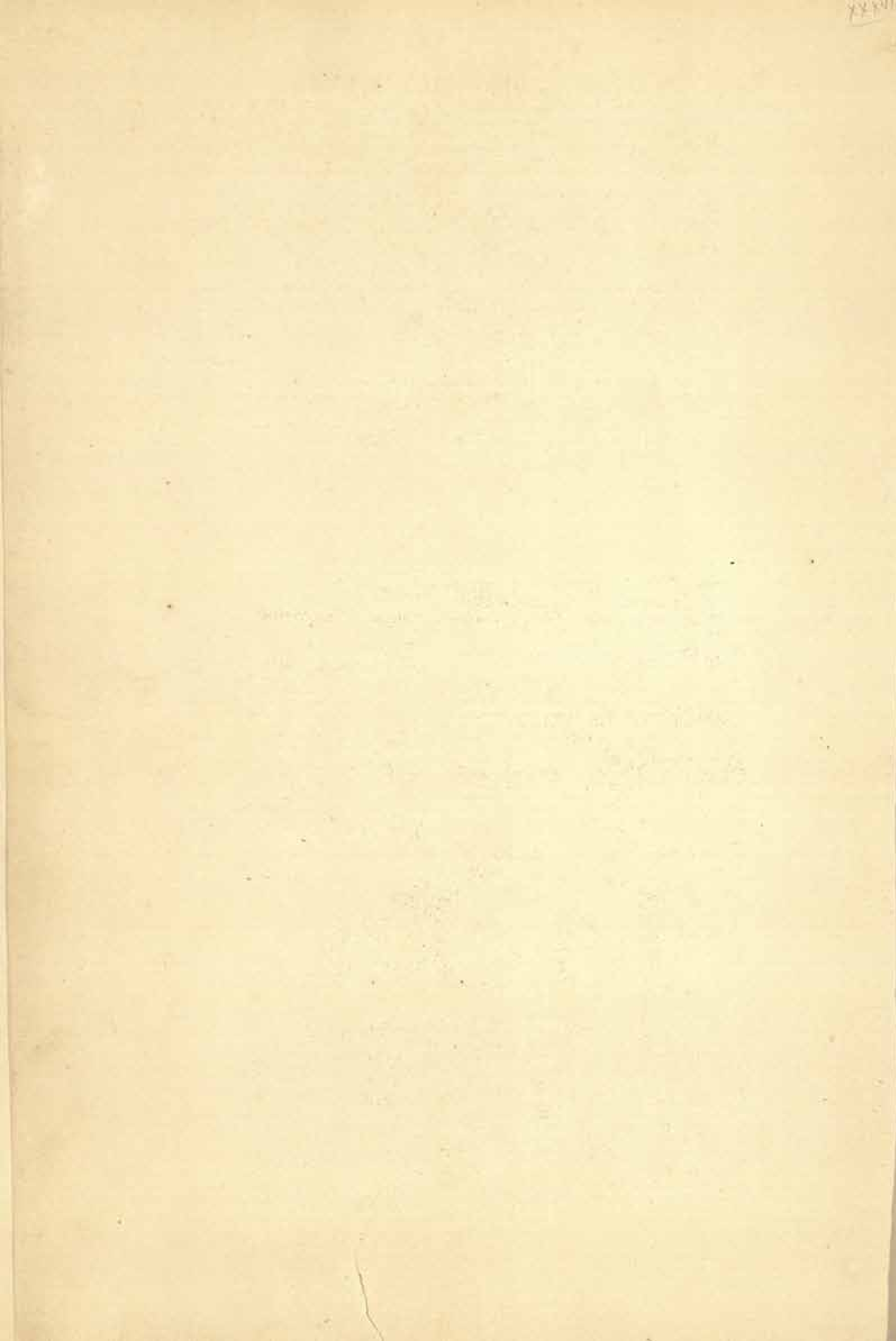
1. MARRIAGE OF SIVA AND PARVATI IN DUMAR LENA

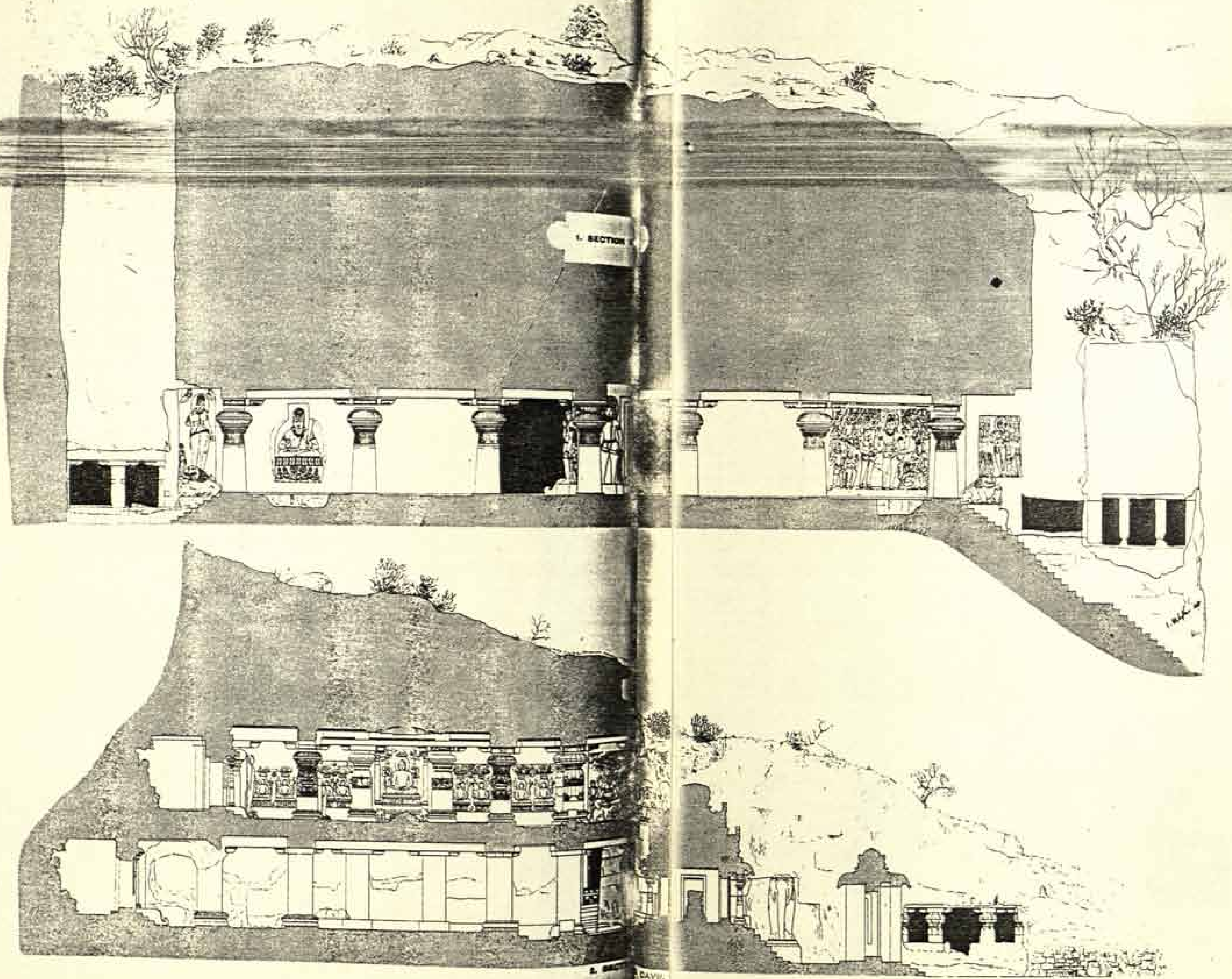


2. NORTH-WEST CORNER OF THE SHRINE IN DUMAR LENA

Scale 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 feet.

J. Burgess,


XXVIII


1. SECTION

ELURA.

PILLARS IN THE INDRA SABHA.

FIG 1.

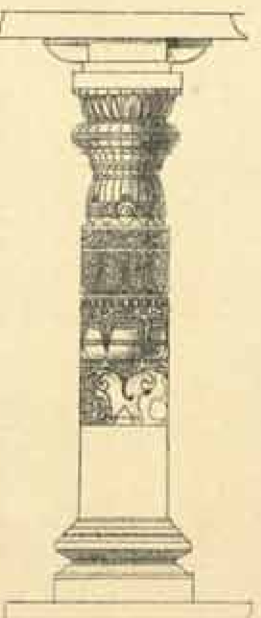


FIG 2.
IN A SMALL CHAPEL.

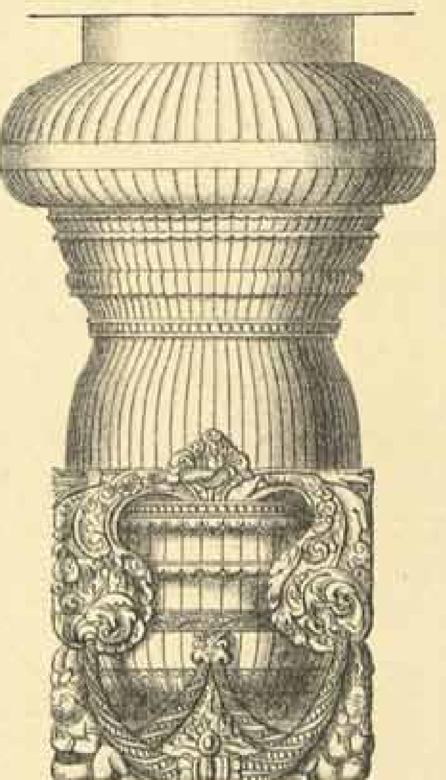


FIG 3. IN THE CENTRAL HALL.

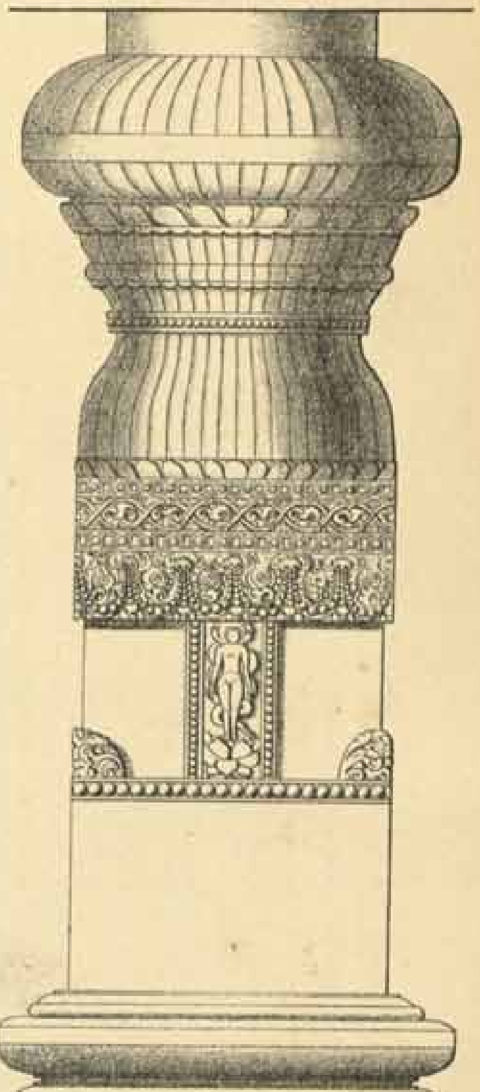


FIG 4. IN THE CENTRAL HALL.

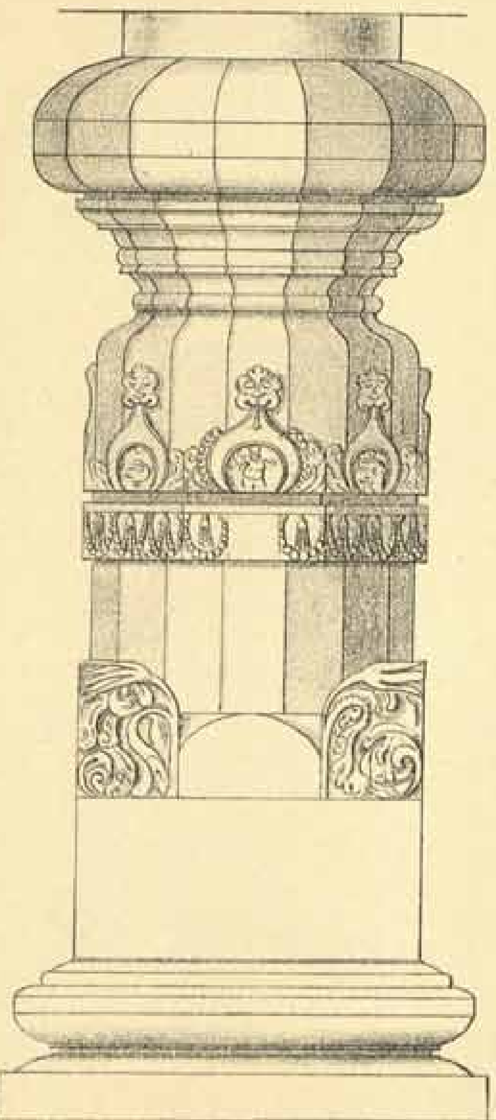
J. Burgess.

Scale of 10 feet

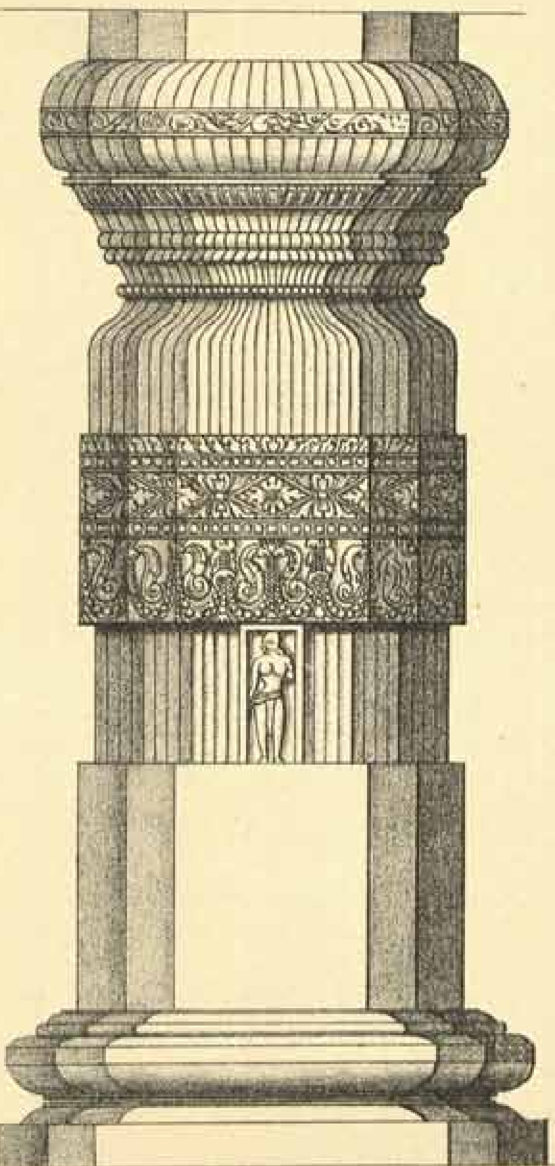
C. M. Sykes, del.

ELURA.-PILLARS IN THE UPPER FLOOR OF THE INDRA SABHA.

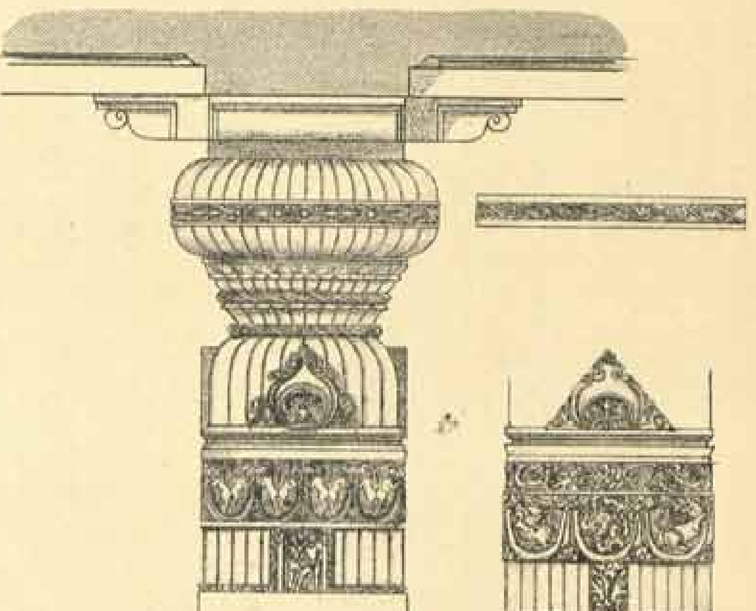
1. COLUMN BETWEEN THE VERANDAH & HALL.

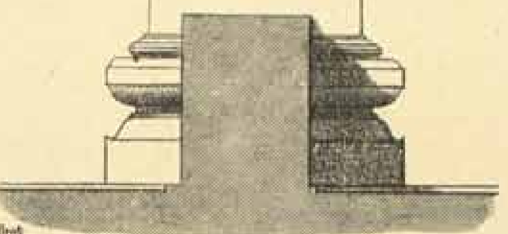


2. COLUMN IN FRONT OF THE VERANDAH



3. PILLAR IN THE WEST WING UPPER FLOOR.



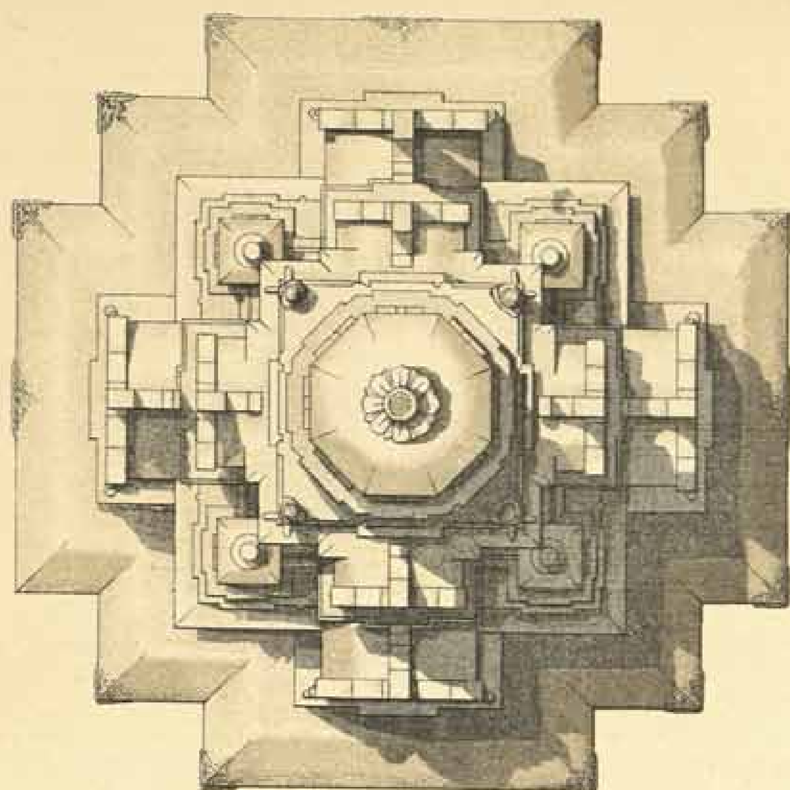


4. ON THE OPPOSITE PILASTER.

J. Burgess.

Scale of 1 ½ 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 feet

ELURA JAINA CAVES.

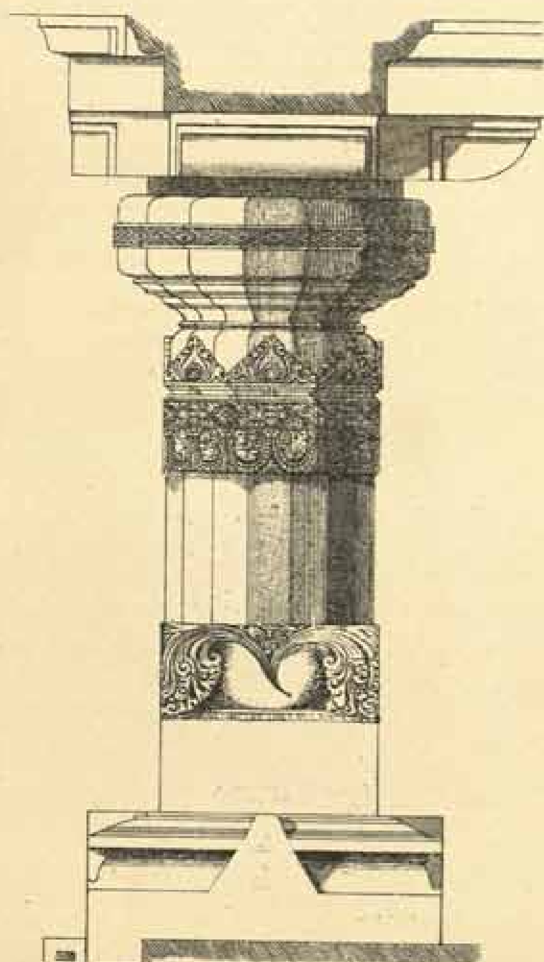


Scale of 20 feet.

1. ROOF OF THE MANDAPA IN THE COURT OF INDRA SABHÂ.

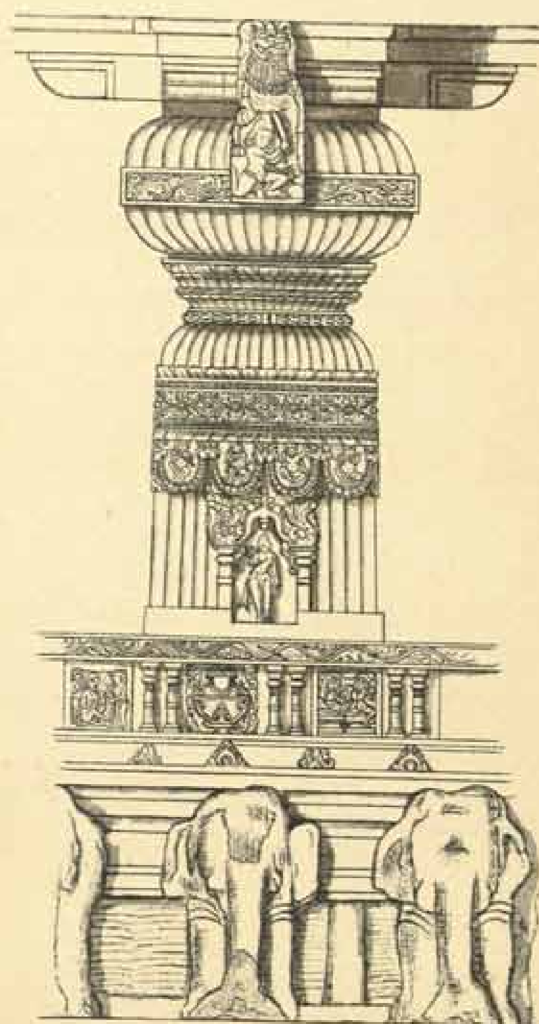


2. AMBIKÂ
FROM A CHAPEL OF THE INDRA SABHÂ.



Scale of Feet.

4. PILLAR IN THE LAST JAINA CAVE.



3. PILLAR IN THE JAGANNÂTH SABHA
GROUND FLOOR.

J. Burgess.

1. GOMATESVARA, IN INDRA SABHA AT ELURA.



2. GENERAL PLAN OF BADAMI CAVES.

Cave IV

Cave III

Detached Rock

Cave II

Cave I

Scale of 20 0 20 40 60 80 100 feet.

3. SIVA DANCING, WEST SIDE OF CAVE I. AT BADAMI.



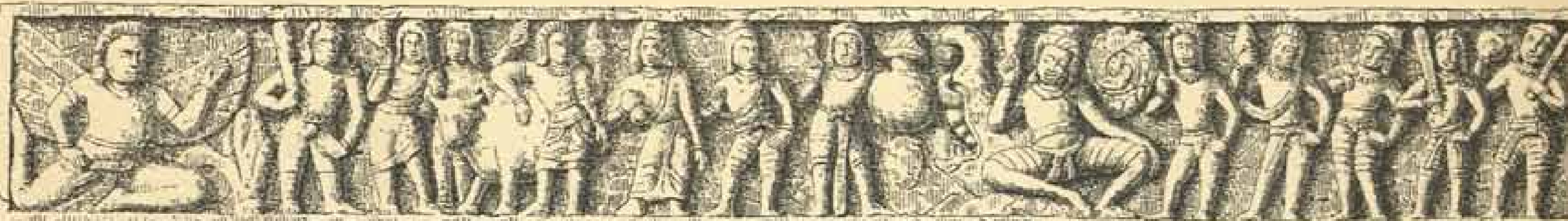
J. Burgess.

















Scale of 1 2 3 4 5 feet.

AIHOLE.-BRAHMANICAL CAVE.



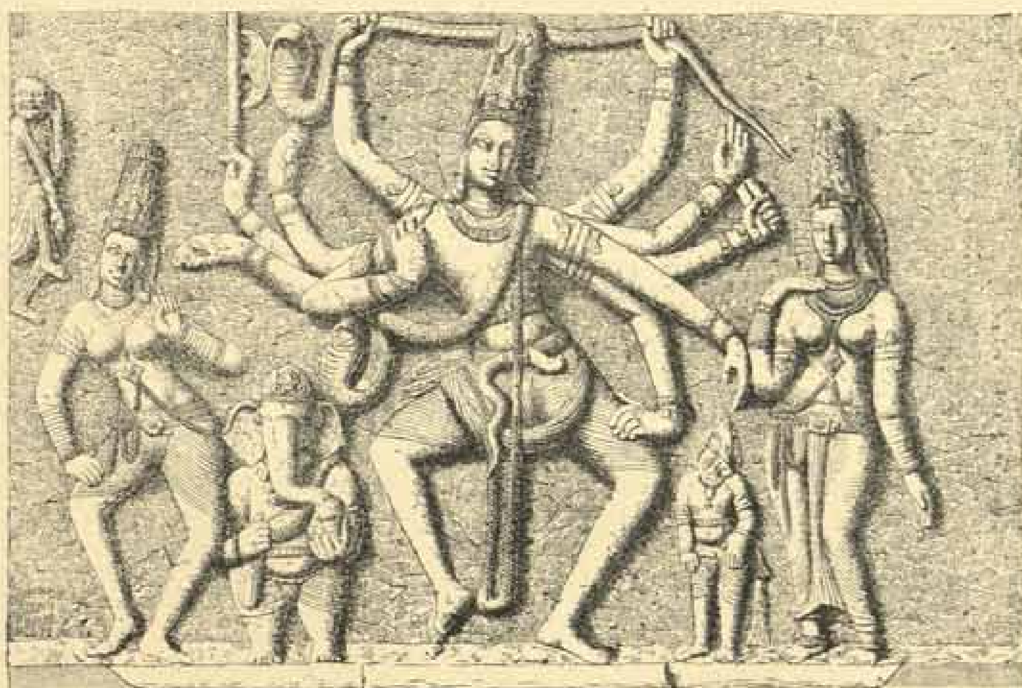
1. ŚIVA AND THE RIVER TRIAD.



2. ŚIVA.



3. VARAHA & PRITHVI, IN THE ANTECHAMBER.



5. ŚIVA DANCING THE TANDAVA.



4. MAHISHAMARDINI IN THE ANTECHAMBER.

J. Burgess.

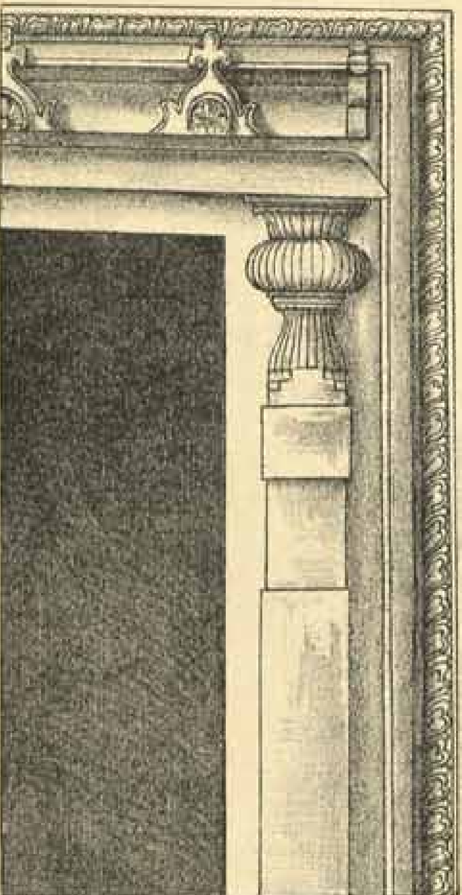
H. Cousens, del.

Scale of 1 2 3 4 5 feet

THE CAVE AT LONAḌ.

1. LEFT PORTION OF THE FRIEZE.





2. CENTRAL DOOR.

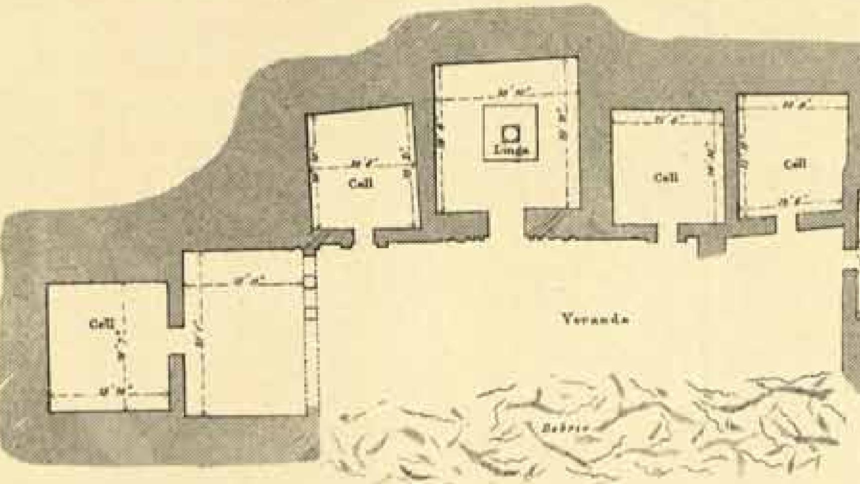
3. SCULPTURE TO THE RIGHT OF THE FAÇADE



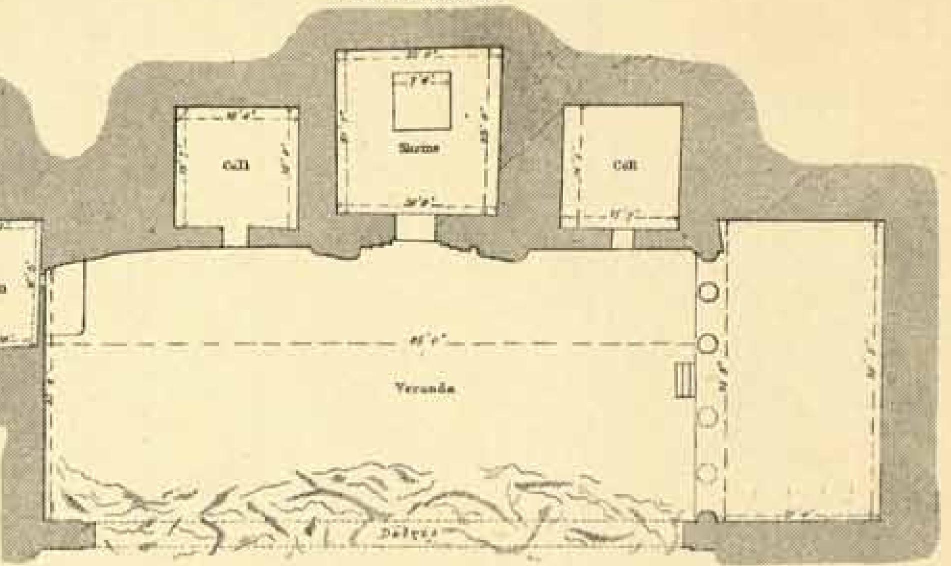
J. Burgess. *W. Griggs, Photo-lith.*

ELEPHANTA.

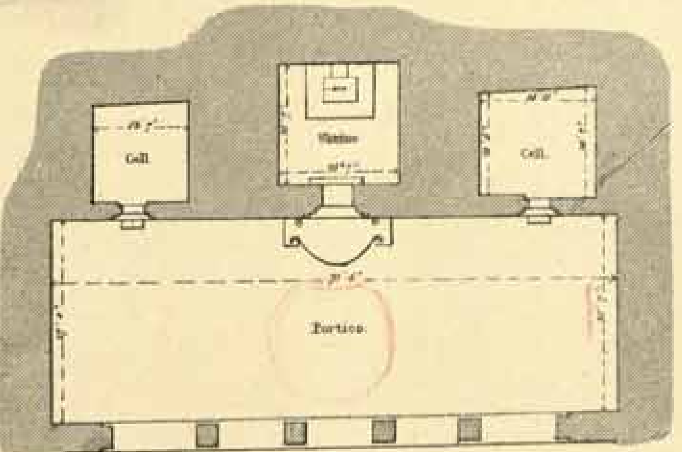
PLAN OF CAVE III.



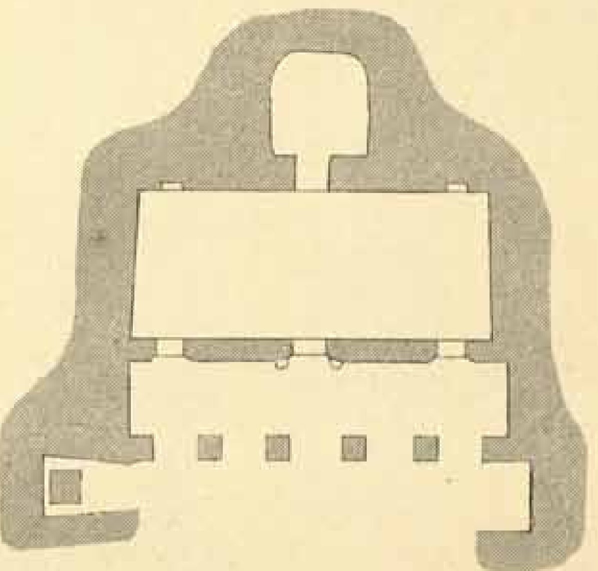
PLAN OF CAVE II.



PLAN OF CAVE IV.

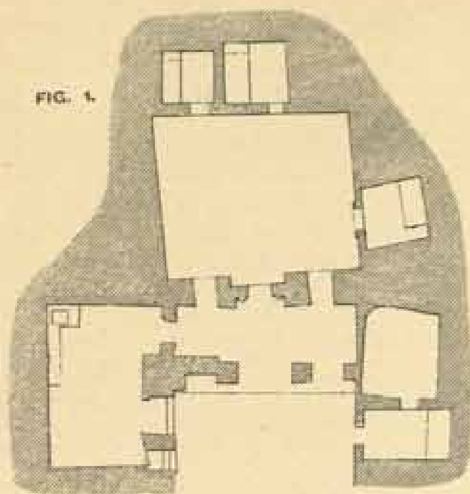


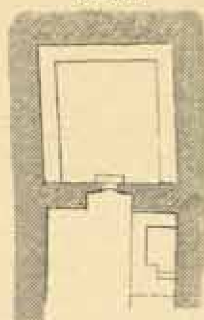
3. LONAD:-KHANDESVARI CAVE.

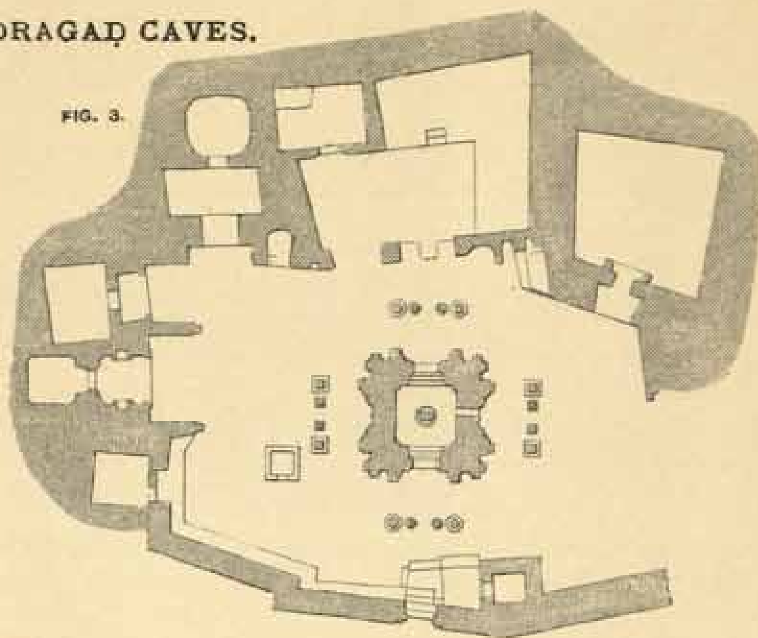


J. Burgess, del.

HARIŚCHANDRAGAḌ CAVES.



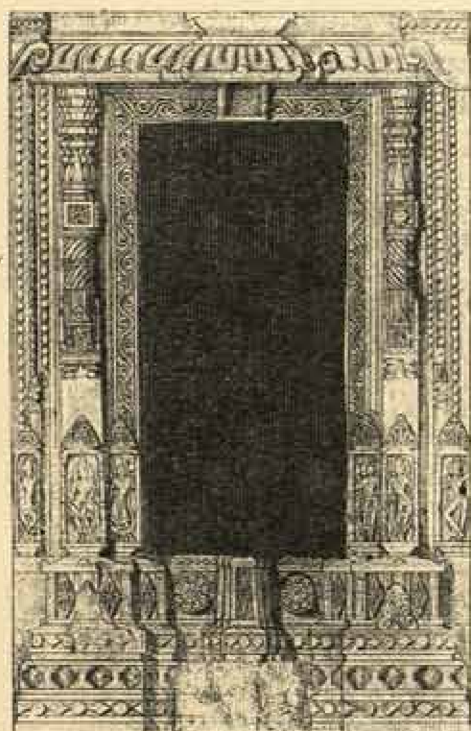


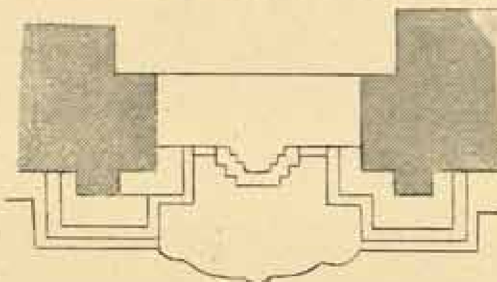


4. PATNA: TRANSVERSE SECTION OF NAGARJUNA: KOTRI.

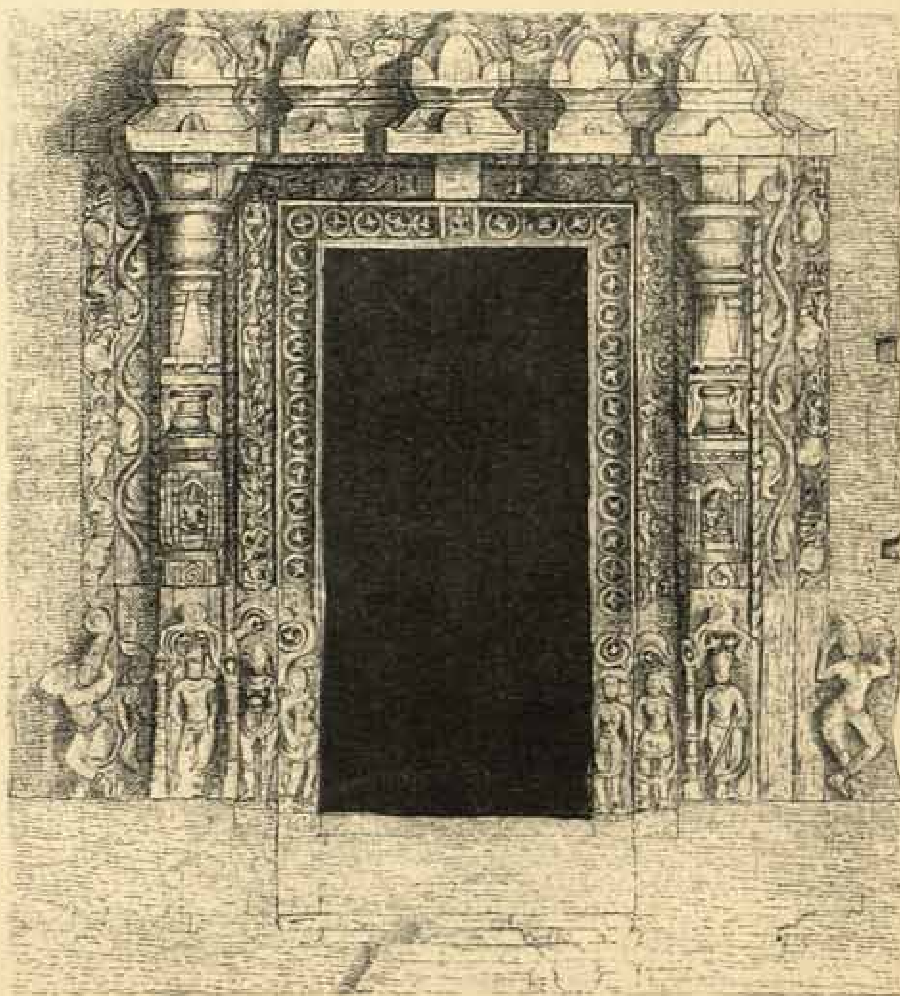


5. PATNA: HALL DOOR OF ŚRINGAR CHÂVAḌI.





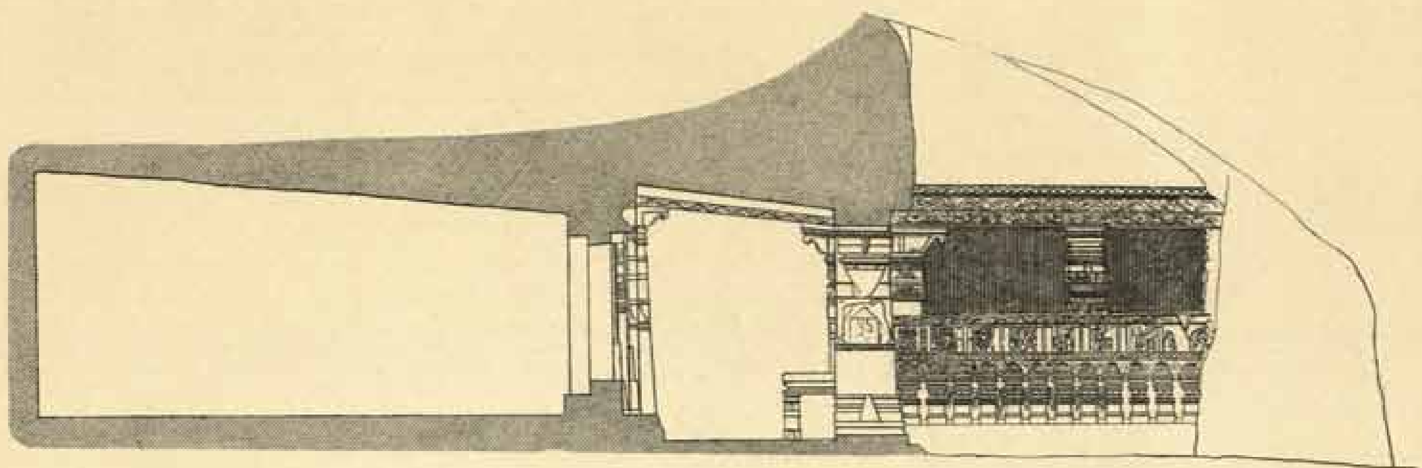
6. ANKAI: DOOR OF JAINA CAVE NO. II, LOWER STOREY.



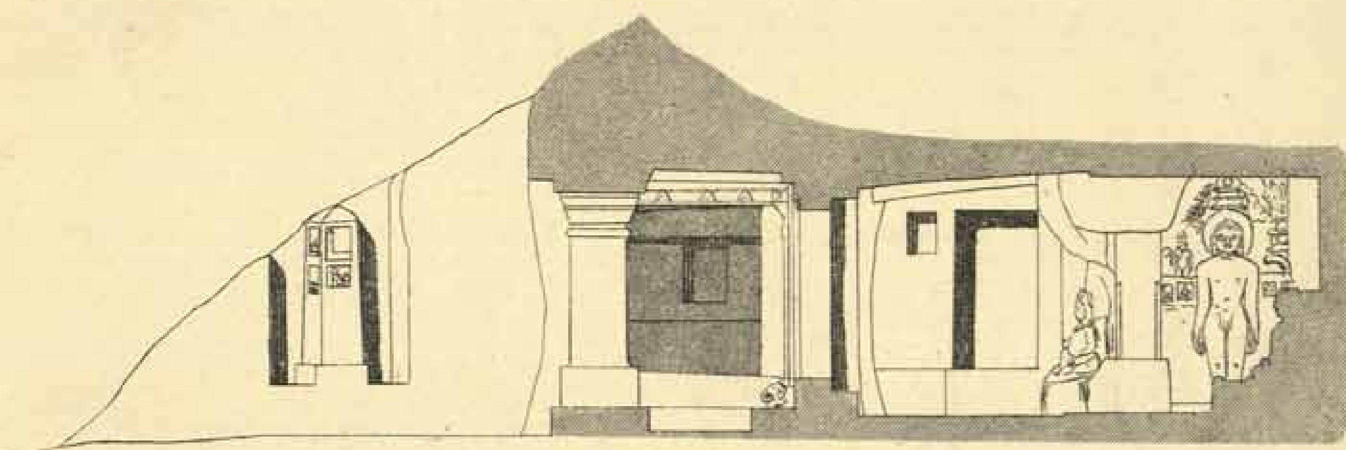
J. Burgess.

Scale of 1 2 3 4 5 feet

PATNA CAVES.

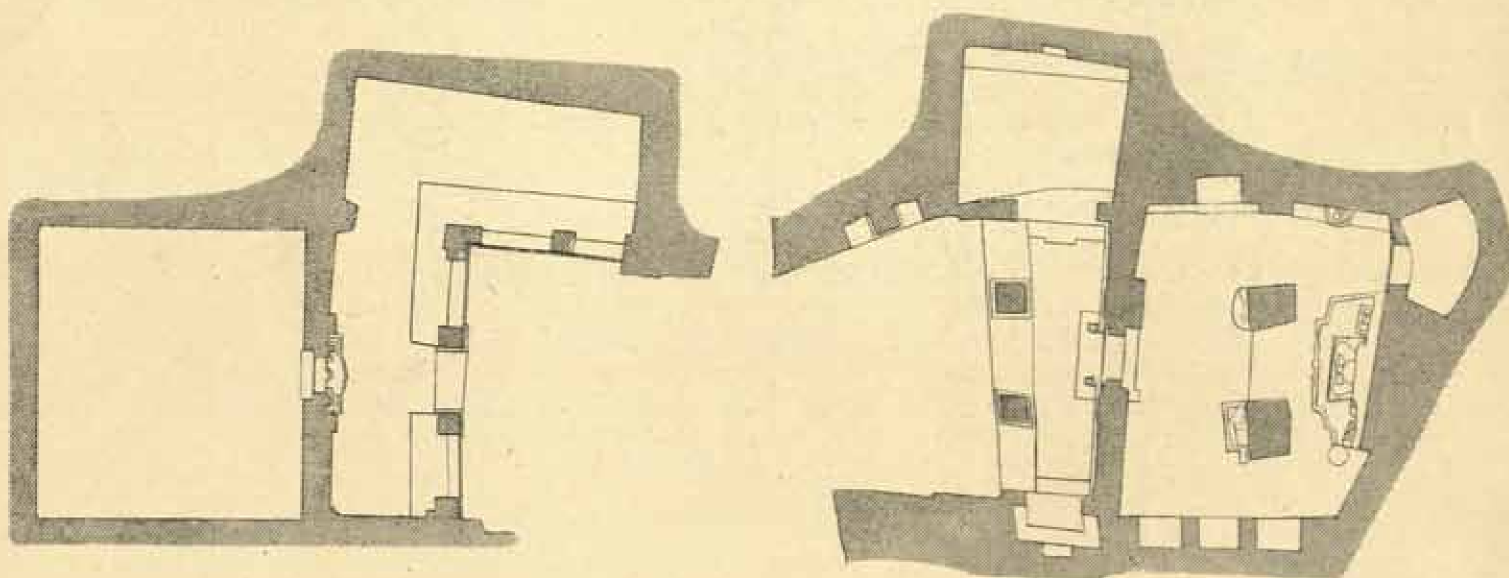


1. SECTION OF SRINGAR CHAVADI.



3. SECTION OF NAGARJUNA KOTRI.





2. PLAN OF SRINGAR CHAVADI.

4. PLAN OF NAGARJUNA KOTRI.

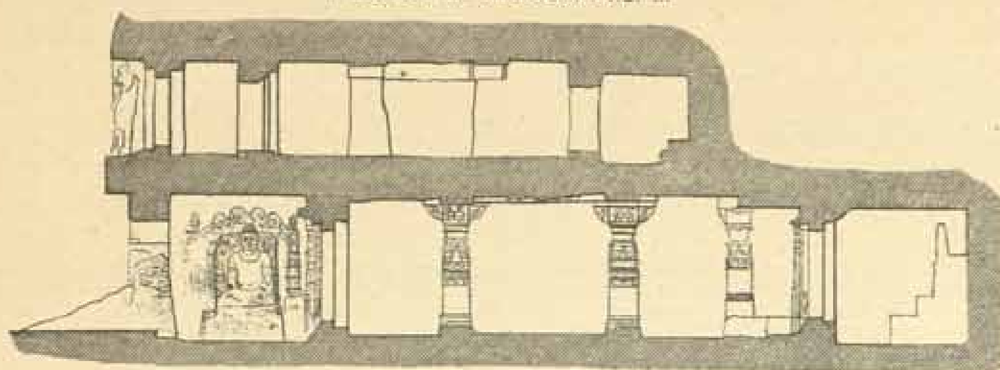


J. Burgess.

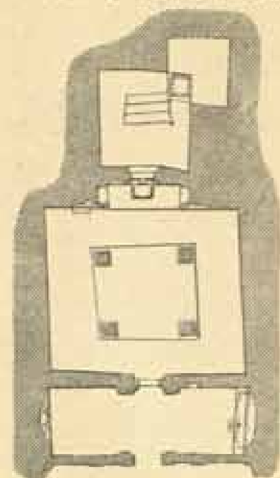
Babaji Sitaram. del.

ANKAI CAVES.

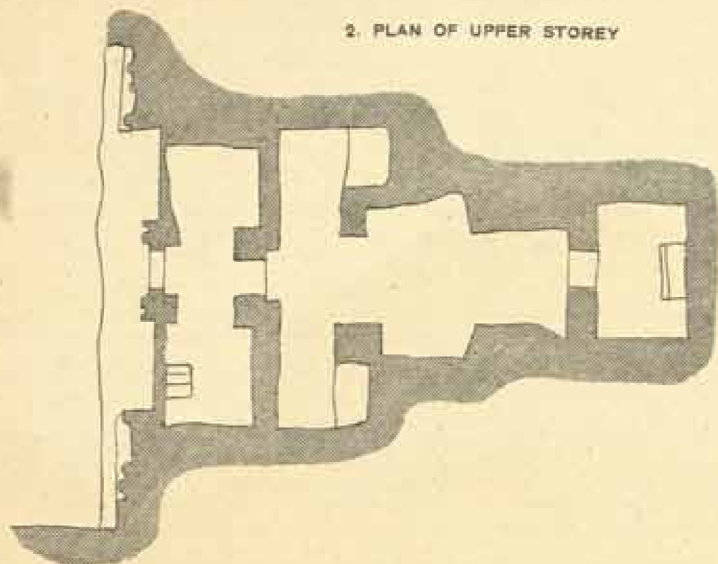
1. SECTION OF JAINA CAVE NO. II.



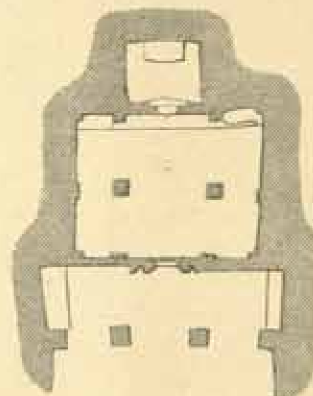
4. PLAN OF JAINA CAVE III.



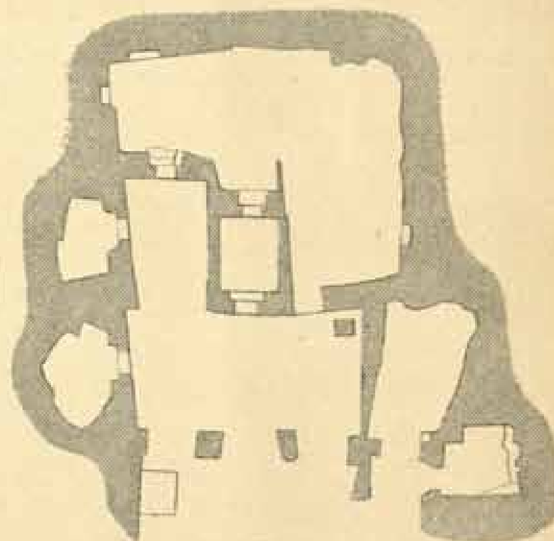
2. PLAN OF UPPER STOREY



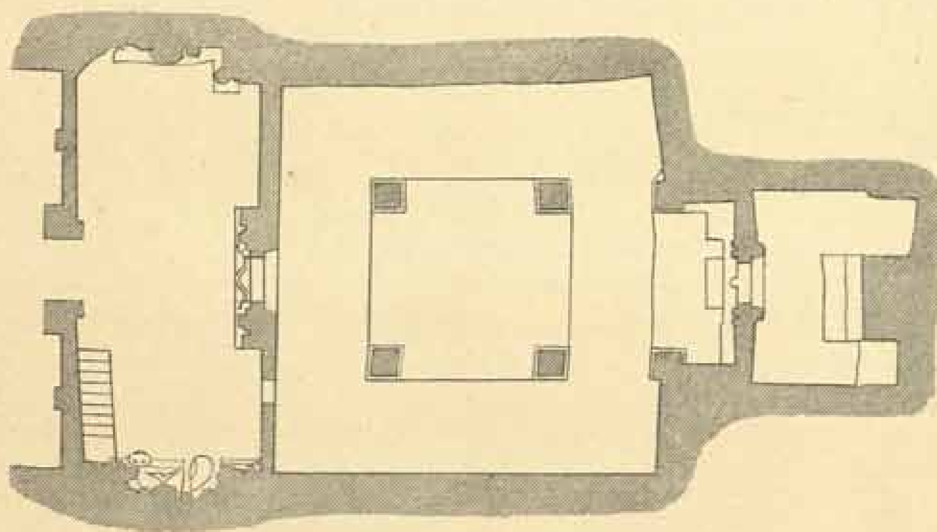
5. PLAN OF JAINA CAVE IV.



6. BRAHMANICAL CAVE.



3. PLAN OF GROUND FLOOR OF CAVE II.

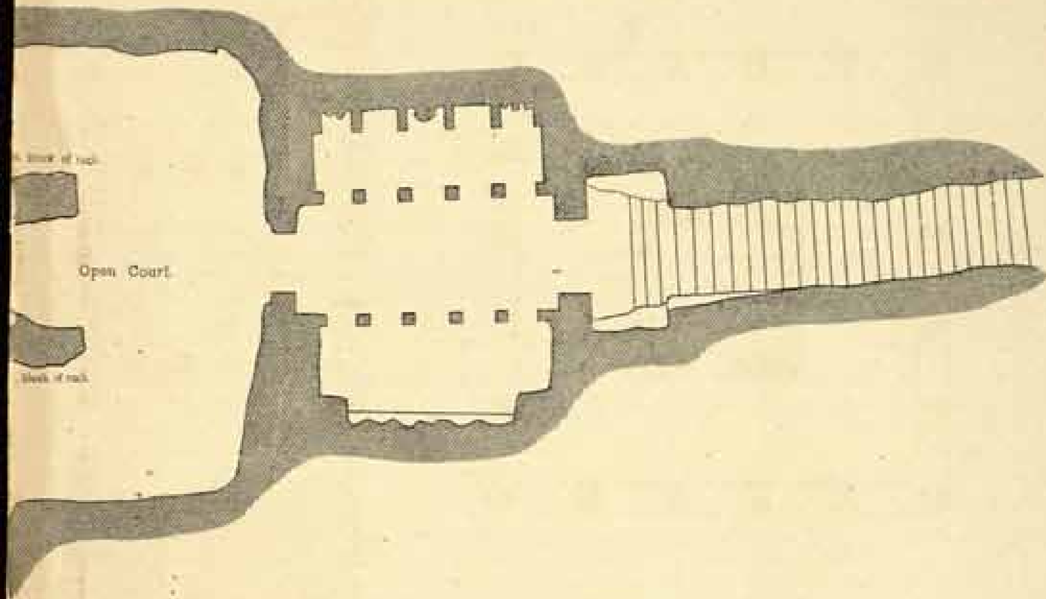


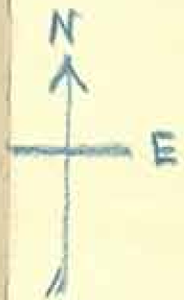
Scale to figs 4—6.

Scale to figs 1—3.

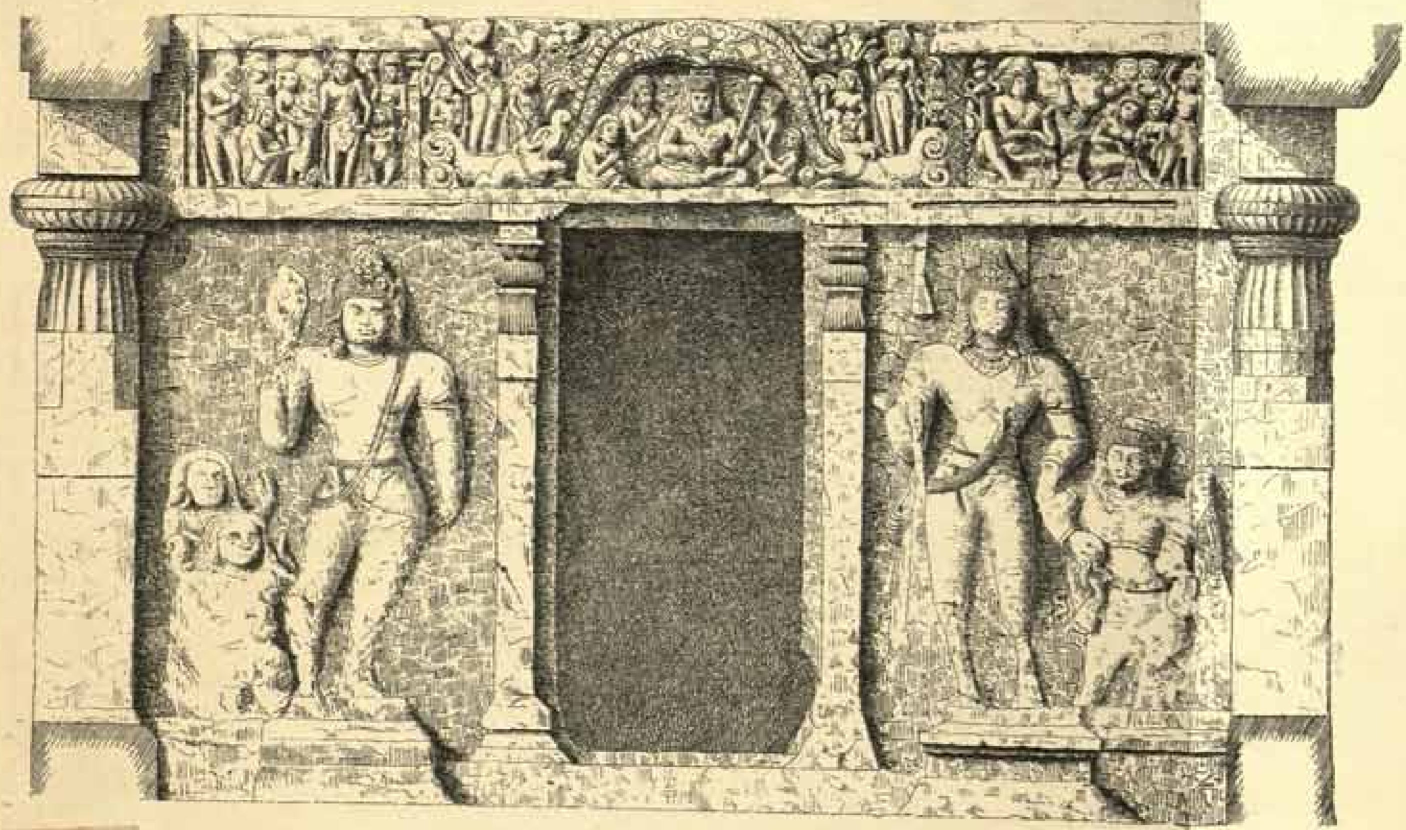
J. Burgess. H. Cousens, del.

ESWARI





EASTERN DOOR A OF THE GREAT HALL.





200 Feet

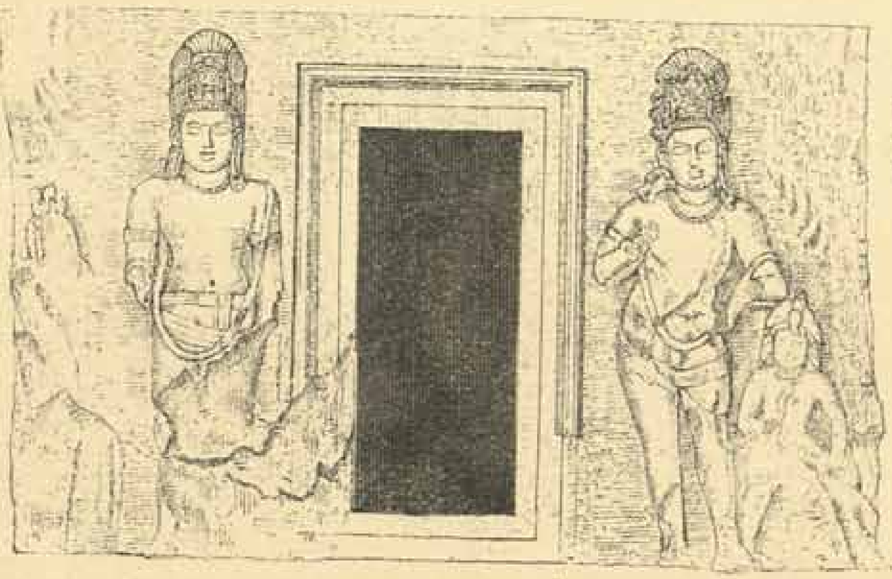
H. Cousens, del.



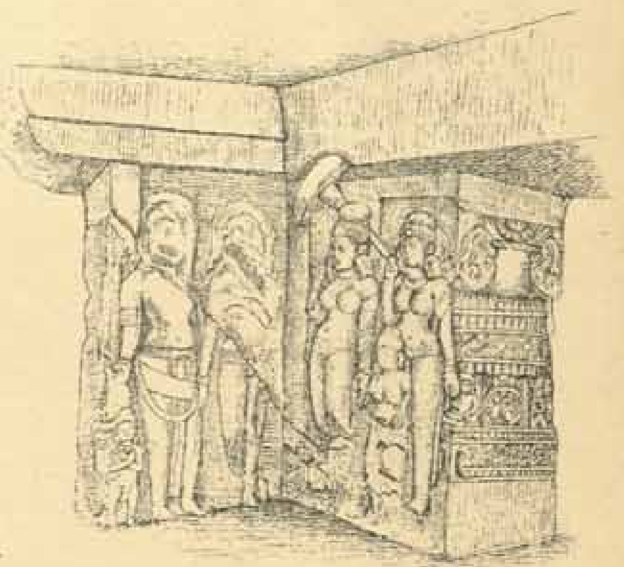
ANKÂÏ CAVES

1. ROOF OF THE JAINA CAVE NO. III. AT ANKAÏ.

Scale of 12' 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 feet.



2. FRONT OF THE BRAHMANICAL CAVE NO. I



3. FIGURES AT THE ENTRANCE OF NO. I

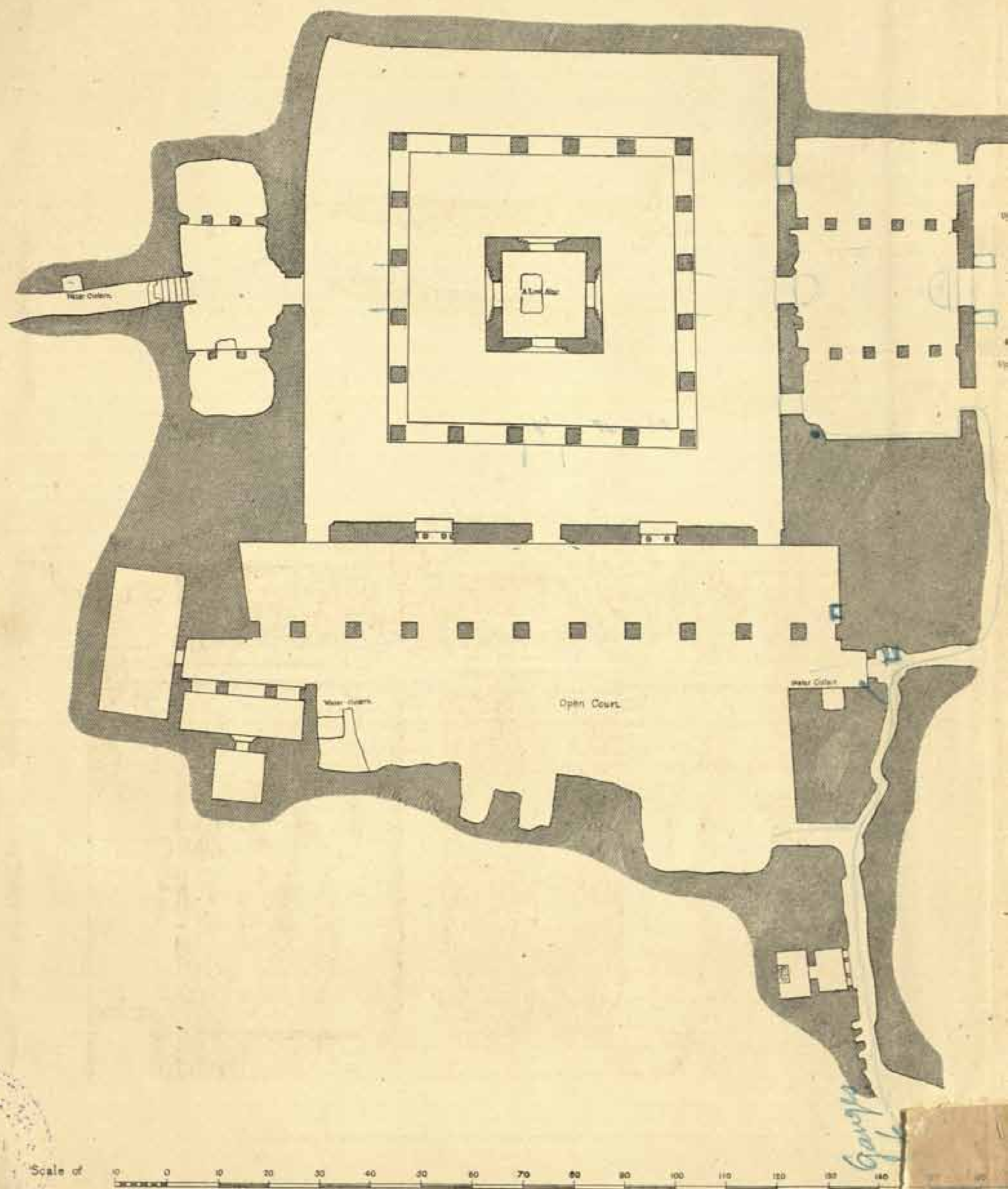
J. Burgess,

Scale of 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 feet.

THE BRAHMANICAL CAVE OF JO…

ON THE

ISLAND OF SALSETTE



J. Burgess.

KANHERI CAVE INSCRIPTIONS

Pandit Bagwanlal Indraji.

KANHERI CAVE INSCRIPTIONS.

Pandit Bagwanlal Indraji.

J. B.

H. C.

